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ABSTRACT

The results of a one-year study of the effect of topic and situation on the speech behavior of fifth and sixth graders of Spanish-English background are reported. Two elementary schools in Los Angeles County were selected for the study. Students' language skills as evidenced in spontaneous speech obtained through sociolinguistic methods of observation and analysis were examined. These skills were compared with linguistic behavior in other situations. The differences between language behavior in the peer sociolinguistic interview sessions and in individual interviews are highlighted. It was found that morphology was only marginally affected by the situation, that syntax showed quite different patterning from morphology, and that length of residence showed a critical period during which speakers exhibited clear preference for either Spanish or English in peer interaction and in extended discourse. One major implication is that, while tests of morphology are useful for evaluating morphological development, they are not representative of functional speech behavior unless they allow for extended discourse. It is concluded that the concept of language proficiency, as applied to sudents on the basis of conventional language proficiency assessment instruments, should be distinguished from language abilities. (RW)

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TOPIC AND SITUATION AS FACTORS IN LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE

Benji Wald

December, 1981

05-81

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CHAPTER 1. THE STUDY OF TOPIC AND SITUATION AS FACTORS IN LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE

1.0 Introduction

The following is one in a series of final reports on studies conducted by the NCBR concerning the language behavior of school age children living and attending school in bilingual communities in the U.S.

This particular report gives the results of a one-year study addressing the effect of topic and situation on the speech behavior of late preadolescents (10-12 year olds, fifth and sixth graders) of Spanish-English background currently attending public schools in the Los Angeles area.

The study is intended to help fill two kinds of gaps in our current knowledge of the relation of language proficiency to acquisitional and educational processes; age group and context-sensitive uses of language.

The study was motivated by concern with the current practice in the educational system of categorizing students as limited or fluent speakers of English in order to determine their eligibility for services and treatments intended to enhance their opportunities for academic achievement. This practice has been extended to include the students' proficiency in the home language as well (Spanish in most cases reported below).

It will be an overriding theme of this report, justified by the results, that the concept of language proficiency status, as applied to students on the basis of current conventional language proficiency assessment instruments (hereafter LPAIs), should be distinguished from language abilities, the actual knowledge a speaker has of a particular language, which is made use of in a variety of situations.

In the course of the ensuing discussion many compelling reasons justifying the above distinction between language proficiency and language abilities will be uncovered and justified. However, from the outset it is immediately suggested by the title of this study that language behavior is sensitive to changes in topic and situation. It follows from this that the language behavior elicited by LPAIs is (1) restricted to topics predetermined by test designers, and to a specific situation in which language is the focus, and (2) constrained to a narrow set of rules for verbal interaction (between the tester and the subject). Given these conditions, the language produced in a testing situation may not accurately reflect the actual language abilities of the speaker, not even insofar as language relevant to classroom interaction and academic achievement is concerned. In view of this initial consideration, the strategy followed in this study has been to elicit and analyze the language behavior of the speakers in an LPA situation, then comparing this with the language behavior of the same speakers under conditions where motivation to speak freely, and consequent speech output, is maximized within the constraints necessary for recording and observing speech. These methods are dealt with in Chapter 2.

The study focuses on students aged 10-12 years. From a variety of perspectives, students in this age groups (late preadolescence) represent a crucial category of bilinguals or non-English speakers. The students are older and more advanced than the K-3 students that have been the attention of the bulk of research in bilingual education.

However, this age group is of critical importance to an educational process that converts young people from incipient students to either high school graduates or high school dropouts. Students in this age group stand at the gate of critical physiological, social and academic changes. For these students, we know very little about the sociolinguistic abilities that one may expect to be developed at this point.

1.1 Theoretical and Practical Background of the Study

Because LPAIs used for determining language proficiency status are, for the most part, restricted to measuring spoken, as opposed to written, language, and because knowledge of spoken language precedes and forms a basis for knowledge of written language for the speakers studied here (as for the vast majority of Hispanics and others of non-English speaking background in the U.S. educational system), this study is restricted to the spoken English and Spanish of the target population.

As stated in the preceding section, it will be useful to distinguish language proficiency from language abilities. Language proficiency will be defined strictly as the results of a quantitative measure (e.g., language proficiency test) applied to a speech sample (e.g., the speech sample elicited by that test). On the other hand, language abilities will be defined as what a speaker can actually do with the language s/he knows. An account of the language abilities of a speaker will distinguish what the speaker knows from what s/he doesn't know, the latter being the basis for deciding what the speaker needs to learn in order to achieve normally in school. Thus, a language proficiency test converts some aspects of a speaker's total language abilities into a measured language proficiency.

It is important to note here that in educational research, what the student does not know has often been emphasized at the expense of what the same student does know. This is most evident in studies of language which directly compare the student's language with the standard variety of the same language. It is particularly evident in those studies which characterize the differences between the standard (school) norms of language and the norms actually used by the students as "errors." This characterization of the speech of the students as "error"-laden, "wrong," "bad," "incorrect" is no mere terminological matter, but rather implies a need and subsequent instructional strategy to replace those norms with the "correct," "right" or "good" ones (those of standard English). Indeed, this attitude in the educational system has also been applied to monolingual English speaking students from communities where nonstandard forms of English are spoken. In the case of speakers of non-English background, however, bilingualism and/or a first language other than English has been emphasized as the primary factor in lack of standard English ability, and has been associated with lack of school achievement. Outside of this attitudinal factor, which in itself must not be underestimated (as pointed out by Troike, 1981), there is little evidence that spoken varieties of English other than the standard contribute significantly to lack of school achievement.

The force of much work directed toward recognition of changes in language with situation, whether concerned with an entire shift from one language to another, or from one variety of a single language to another variety of the same language, has led to a different characterization of nonstandard forms of English as "inappropriate" in the school context, rather than inexorably "wrong" for any context. This change in attitude recognizes that fully functional nonstandard varieties of English and Spanish are widely used in Hispanic communities, and are appropriate in many non-school contexts, in some cases even more appropriate than the corresponding standard varieties. Within bilingual communities these varieties may provide targets for second language speakers whose second language development cannot be considered fully functional by any standards. Up to now, investigation of these targets has almost exclusively considered only nonstandard varieties of Spanish (e.g., Elias-Olivares, 1976). Nonstandard varieties of English in Hispanic communities remain largely unexplored.

While the concept of appropriateness, mediated by situation, represents an informed advance over the concept of correctness, as applied to speakers from bilingual communities, it still does not link the languages and enveloping cultural knowledge of the community with that of the school. In the absence of this link, the goal of the educational system may easily remain the replacement of one set of language norms by another, rather than the addition of norms valued by the schools, using the linguistic knowledge already possessed by the student as a basis for further linguistic and educational development.

Very little has been done on the language abilities of bilingual students, beyond the quantitative measures applied to language behavior in test situations. This problem affects LPAIs used for assessing oral language proficiency no less than it does other aspects of the educational processes. Even though there are some instruments, such as the BINL and BSM (discussed in more detail below), which show awareness of the *issue* of different fully developed nonstandard varieties of English and Spanish, and which caution examiners not to penalize speakers for producing nonstandard (as opposed to underdeveloped) forms of language, these efforts have little effect in practice since the examiners have virtually no informed basis for distinguishing nonstandard from underdeveloped forms. In fact, nonstandard and underdeveloped forms are not invariably distinct on an individual item basis. For example, in considering forms of negation (to anticipate later discussion), the use of *don't* with a third person singular (3s) subject as in: *he don't like it*, may or may not be a fully developed form depending on the particular speaker. In lower SES Hispanic communities, such as those from which the population studied here are drawn, as well as in many monolingual English communities, this is a fully developed norm which speakers continue to use at all ages, even while observing subject-verb agreement in all other cases, e.g., *he like-s it*. In the case of some second language speakers, however, it may be a sign of underdevelopment. This depends on the extent to which the speaker uses subject-verb agreement in other cases. For the Hispanic communities studied, subject-verb agreement is a feature of the nonstandard as well as standard varieties of English. Consistent or any patterned lack of subject-verb agreement is a sign of underdevelopment in terms of community norms as well as the school norms of English, *except* in the case of *don't*. To the teacher or tester, *don't* with a 3s subject may be "incorrect" or "inappropriate" in the educational context, but the *reasons* for the use of this and similar nonstandard features may differ crucially depending on other features of the speaker's language system. It follows that the strategies used to teach the speaker the desired forms must differ in accordance with the knowledge the speaker has *already* developed. One child needs to gain control of the English process of subject-verb agreement for all forms. Another needs only to learn the value the school puts on the form *doesn't* with 3s subjects.

Since the present study includes students of a wide range of demonstrated language abilities in English and Spanish, it will be possible to report on the distinction between those linguistic features which are general to their age group in the communities studied and those which are characteristic of *recent learners* (underdeveloped speakers) of English at their age.

The following section discusses in greater detail the context of language proficiency studies from which the presently reported research results.

1.2 *Language Proficiency Assessment*

Language proficiency assessment (henceforth LPA) is a crucial part of the developing technology of bilingual education. Its most widespread use across American school systems is to classify students of non-English family backgrounds for determining eligibility and/or need for bilingual educational programs. On the basis of specific LPA instruments, students are classified as *fluent* or *limited* speakers of English. The most widely used tests make further distinctions within both categories, but this distinction is the crucial one.

Currently there is much debate over the relationship of LPA to school achievement, although it is generally agreed that lack of proficiency in English is at least partially responsible for the lack of academic achievement and for an eventual high dropout rate among speakers from non-English backgrounds, especially Hispanics. The controversy centers around two major questions:

1. What kinds of language proficiency are related to what kinds of academic achievement?
2. What is the relative role of language proficiency among factors (e.g., social or individual psychological), which promote or impede academic achievement?

To begin with, the question arises: What is the *content* of language proficiency? There is no agreed upon answer to this question. The scope of language proficiency is not well defined. As a point of departure, we consider the most commonly used instruments; LAS (Language Assessment Scales), BSM (Bilingual Syntax Measure), BINL (Basic Inventory of Natural Language). All of these instruments are commercially produced and distributed, and have been the subject of comparative study (esp. Gillmore & Dickerson, 1979; Ulibarri, Spencer & Rivas, 1980). They all have content restricted to core linguistic components. The core linguistic components are:

PHONOLOGY: The pronunciation and perception of linguistic sounds.

MORPHOLOGY: The processes of word formation; particularly for English, the most frequently used inflectional suffixes.

SYNTAX: The processes of sentence formation; the organization of words into sentences and intermediate units, i.e., clauses and phrases.

LEXICON: Vocabulary; the inventory of sound sequences and meanings paired into morphemes and words, e.g., nouns and verbs.

Each of the instruments is restricted to one or several of these components, and devises a scoring system through which to quantify the results of elicitations, leading to assignment of the speakers to a classificatory status above or below a cut-off point between limited and fluent proficiency.

For all practical purposes, these instruments score by comparing the speaker's output with the equivalent standard (written) English linguistic features.

A particularly interesting feature of all of these instruments is that they also have Spanish versions. Thus, they also claim to measure dominance for English-Spanish bilinguals.

The following table shows the differing emphases of the three LPA tests.

Table 1.1 Comparison of core linguistic emphases of three LPAIs.

	BINL	BSM	LAS
phonology	—	—	+
morphology	—	+	(+)
syntax	+	—	(+)
lexicon	(+)	(+)	+

The BINL and BSM measure lexicon only insofar as they do not allow non-English words used in an English-intended response in counting words-per-sentence. The LAS measures morphology and syntax impressionistically, requiring the scorer to react in an impressionistic way to the frequency of deviations from standard English syntax and morphology in the speaker's retelling of a taped story. Special attention is drawn in Table 1.1 to the fact that the

BINL and BSM take virtually diametrically opposed approaches to the evaluation of syntax.*

In considering the different contents of each of these instruments, several questions come to mind. First, are the different components commensurate? That is, would we expect a score on one component to predict (have a direct relationship to) a score on another component? If so, why? If not, what are the bases for choosing or emphasizing one rather than another?

From a linguistic point of view, we might expect that, within a given community, most speakers acquiring English as a first language would show similar levels of development in all components, especially within the age range of 10-12, with which we will be dealing. Most features of phonology, and especially morphology, are relatively frequently used in speech, and most speakers would have adequate exposure to assimilate them. On the other hand, one would expect syntax and lexicon to be more matters of individual experience. To be sure, speakers of the same community should share the most obvious and usual syntactic patterns and typical vocabulary by this age. However, we might expect the more complex forms of syntax, those found mostly in written English, to be differentially distributed across speakers, e.g., the prepositional relative clause--the boy _to whom_ I gave the book (rather than the boy _that_/_who_ I gave the book _to_)--and specialized vocabulary, e.g., _distributor_ (auto), _beside_ (school-talk or archaic for _next to_, _by_), etc..

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*Although the BSM calls itself a Basic _Syntax_ Measure, it is virtually confined to _morphology_. Morphology may be viewed as word-level, as opposed to sentence-level, syntax.

For acquirers of English as a second language, or even as a first language in a community where the speaker is exposed from the outset to non-English speakers or to many speakers of English as a second language, the situation may be quite different. The components of Table 1.1 are clearly separable. Thus, phonology, for example, varies greatly across communities where English is the first language learned (L_1), as well as among individuals whose L_1 is not English, regardless of the other components. Lexicon is also highly variable. The most extreme cases of separation of lexicon from syntax are shown by creole languages, which may have an English vocabulary, but a syntax and morphology quite distinct from the mainstream varieties of English (cf. Hymes, 1971).

It is far from clear at what rates different components of a language, acquired as non-first, develop, or to what extent there is any predictable relationship among different components in second language development.

On the face of it, the criteria and implied notions of language proficiency are different for various tests. More deeply, the question has been raised whether various measures concentrating on different aspects of language are equivalent. Proposed answers to this question have varied from a claim that all aspects of language proficiency are equivalent, e.g., Oller's recent claim that there is a global language proficiency (glp) underlying all measures of language proficiency and even language achievement tests (Oller & Perkins, 1980), to extremely complex models factoring out mode and channel, e.g., spoken-written; production and comprehension, and domain, e.g., home, school, etc. Perhaps the golden mean is Cummins' claim that there are two types of language proficiency--one related to school achievement, and another which is not (e.g., Cummins, 1980).

Confronting a potential chaos in the classification of students into "Limited English Proficient" and "Fluent English Proficient," or "Limited English Speaking" and "Fluent English Speaking according to district choice, some state governments took an active interest in comparing instruments in order to see 1) how the use of different instruments affected the LEP count, and 2) whether or not an instrument had predictive value for school achievement.

In 1979 the Texas Education Agency supported a study reported by Gillmore and Dickerson (1979) to compare 5 LPA instruments in Houston, Texas. Among the tests compared were the 3 LPA instruments of further interest to us here; BINL, BSM, LAS. G&D gave pairs of LPA tests to 464 pupils between K and 12 in six Houston districts.

Among their findings:

1. Comparability was poor to poorly moderate. BINL/LAS closest for K-2 (Kendall's tau .48), BSM/LAS closest for 3-6 (Kendall's Tau .52).

2. Altogether BINL was the hardest of the tests, classifying 73% of students as LESA (LEP), LAS was the middle (30%), and the BSM was easiest (19%).

3. Of the three pairs, BSM/LAS agreed the most 78% (N=40), BINL/BSM 45% (N=51) and BINL/LAS 49% (N=34).

4. Of the three tests, correlations (using Pearson's R) between the tests and achievement tests were only significant for LAS, but very modestly, e.g., reading .31, vocabulary .28.

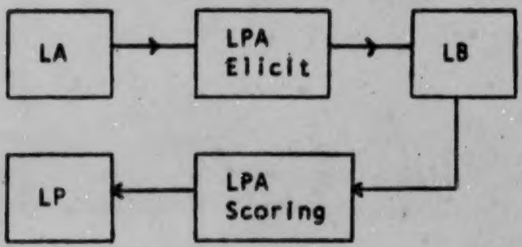
In 1980 the California State Department of Education commissioned a comparability study of the BINL, BSM and LAS. In that study all three tests were given to over 1,100 students in grades 1, 3 and 5 in five schools throughout California, none having a majority Hispanic student body (40% the highest, in La Puente).

Their findings were similar to Gillmore & Dickerson's in some ways, different in others (Ulibarri et al. 1980):

1. Different tests identified different percentages of the same population as LES, etc. (LEP). (As in G&D, 1979).
2. BSM was the hardest at each grade level, but BINL shifted from easiest to second place at grade 3.
3. BINL/LAS had the highest agreement, from 45% at grade 3, progressing to 65% at grade 5.
4. Despite 3, LAS and then BSM (except at grade 5) alone showed significant association with reading level.
5. In some individual cases the BINL reversed the rank order of students for language proficiency status when compared with the BSM and LAS.

These findings provide powerful motivation for distinguishing language proficiency from language abilities. Language proficiency as a concept is closely associated with LPAIs. Language proficiency is like an image of language abilities projected through the lens of an LPAI. Each LPAI provides a different lens; thus, a different image emerges.

The following diagram schematizes the relationship between language abilities and language proficiency according to the above discussion.



LA = Language Abilities
LB = Language Behavior
LP = Language Proficiency
LPA = Language Proficiency Assessment

Diagram 1.1 Relation of Language Abilities to Language Proficiency.

The scheme begins with the speaker's language abilities. In the first stage of language proficiency assessment, the LPA instrument is used by the tester to elicit language behavior. It is extremely important to recognize that the relationship between language abilities (LA) and language behavior (LB) is not direct, but is mediated by the LPA elicitation. The LPA elicitation creates a situation whose effects on the relationship between language abilities and language behavior cannot be dismissed. Sociolinguistic research provides ample evidence that both quantity and quality of language is mediated by the social situation in which it occurs (cf. Labov, 1972; Mace-Matluck, 1980; Wald, 1980; 1981). This issue will become evident in the ensuing discussion.

Continuing with the scheme, the LB which is produced through the LPA elicitation is then scored according to the criteria of the particular instrument used. This is the second stage in LPA. The output of this procedure results in the language proficiency (LP) classification.

Thus, the relation of LP to LA is quite indirect, depending first on elicitation and then on scoring.

In view of the findings of noncomparability among LPAIs based on evaluating different aspects or combinations of aspects of a particular language, one of the primary questions to which the present report is addressed is:

> To what extent do different components of language develop differentially among the population studied? To what extent is there a systematic relationship between different features of a language in language development?

At this point, however, discussion turns to a prerequisite consideration of the effect of situation on language behavior.

1.3 Language and Situation

An increasingly effective criticism of the predictive value of LPAIs for school achievement is based on the limitation imposed on observation of social and language behavior by the content of any and all of the conventional instruments.

Many observers have insisted that language and accompanying forms of social behavior responsible for scholastic success go beyond the core linguistic features discussed above. These observers have emphasized that classroom learning, in particular, has a strong social component in the interaction of teachers and students. Students must not only, and perhaps not even primarily, know the forms of language appropriate to the classroom, but also know how to use language to accomplish whatever is required. The general concept proposed for the knowledge underlying the functional (interactional) use of language in its social context has been labelled communicative competence.

The thrust of much work originating in the concept of communicative competence, first proposed by Gumperz and Hymes, is that there are unconscious rules (both linguistic and nonlinguistic) for interactional behavior. Through these rules, situations are changed or maintained. Gumperz has suggested that these rules are negotiated by the interactants. In a classroom context, a desired situation might be simply task-focused, quiet students. To the extent that negotiations fail, dysfunction or disruption of the desired situation may occur. Implicit in the application of the concept of negotiation to classroom situations is that knowledge of the rules used for similar purposes by each side need to be mutually known or established in order for negotiations to proceed as desired (cf. Cook-Gumperz, 1980).

Shuy & Staton (1980) distinguish two general areas of communicative competence: Linguistic and sociolinguistic. The linguistic area deals with core linguistic features discussed above. Canale & Swain (1980) restrict *sociolinguistic* competence to interpersonal skills involving appropriateness conditions, and distinguish it from *discourse* competence, which applies to the ability to produce coherent texts, i.e., coherent multi-sentence units, e.g., recipes, telephone inquiries. They also put *strategic* competence on the same level: Ability to compensate for communication breakdowns caused by difficulties in other competences, or, special abilities which enhance communicative effectiveness. The diagram below displays these two implicit taxonomies.

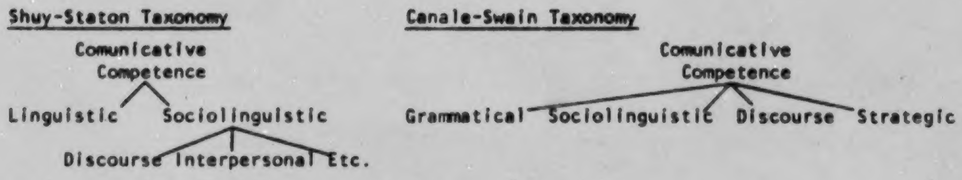

Shuy-Staton Taxonomy
Communicative Competence
Linguistic
Sociolinguistic
Discourse
Interpersonal
Etc.
Canale-Swain Taxonomy
Communicative Competence
Grammatical
Sociolinguistic
Discourse
Strategic

Diagram 1.2 Two basic taxonomies of communicative competence.

Currently, little is known about the relationship of these components of communicative competence to each other, or their relative weights as predictors of school achievement. Educational studies of communicative competence generally focus on interpersonal features of classroom situations. They tend to emphasize cultural differences in interpersonal communication and the situational sensitivity of appropriateness conditions, e.g., that talking out loud in class is appropriate on some occasions (when you're called on by the teacher), but not on other occasions (when somebody else is called on or when that decision hasn't been made yet by the teacher).

Non-core linguistic skills have generally been proposed as aiding or impeding the stability of the situations in which learning takes place, particularly in the classroom, and contributing to the role of mutual expectations in student-teacher perception and interaction, which encourages or discourages academic achievement (see Troike, 1981 discussion of Cummins' work; and Wald, 1981 discussion of Troike's paper).

On the other hand, core linguistic features of standard English have been emphasized as instrumental in acquiring literacy in English. In a more general way, Cummins (e.g., 1981) has argued that only a limited number of linguistic and/or sociolinguistic skills are related to academic achievement, e.g., phonology is considered irrelevant (but see discussion in Wald, 1981). A major example of a relevant skill given in Cummins' papers is lexical parity of bilinguals with monolingual age-mates, assumed to be a prerequisite for grade level reading.

Since little has been done in relating core linguistic to other sociolinguistic abilities in educational contexts, the question remains open what their relative roles are in the academic achievement of bilinguals.

At the same time, outside of educational contexts there are a great number of studies demonstrating that the core linguistic features of language are sensitive to social situation (cf. Wald, 1980 and 1981 for extended discussion). This applies both to quality (variety of linguistic devices used) and quantity (amount of information contained in speech).

Thus, the study reported below is also addressed to the question: What is the effect of the situation in which LPAI tests are administered on the linguistic behavior of the speaker? How does the resultant linguistic behavior compare with the behavior observed when conditions maximize speech output?

The final section of this chapter provides a basic orientation to the reported study.

1.4 The Topic/Situation Study

The focus of interest in the reported study is on the relationship between language proficiency measures currently used to classify speakers and those speakers' language abilities. The study simultaneously considers three levels of organization:

- Core linguistic,
- Discourse, and
- Conversation

Core linguistic. Applies to linguistic organization at the sentence level or below. It is equivalent to Shuy & Staton's linguistic competence or Canale & Swain's grammatical competence.

Discourse. Applies to coherent multi-sentence units embedded in conversation. It is equivalent to Canale & Swain's discourse competence. Examples are narratives, place directions, house/apartment descriptions, recipes, reports of past and present routines, speculations, and expressions of opinion and belief. These units will be referred to as discourse units (DUs) and will figure very much in ensuing discussion.

Conversation. Actual verbal exchange, organized into acts with motives and consequences. This level of organization includes Canale & Swain's sociolinguistic and strategic competence.

Although there is much evidence to suggest that core linguistic abilities are highly refined before adolescence for monolingual speakers, little is known about abilities in organizing discourse units either for monolinguals or bilinguals, or the rules of conversation used among peers or between peers and other age groups--of particular interest, adults.

The relation of core linguistic abilities to discourse abilities has relevance to language comprehension, and to reading comprehension at the level of making inferences from a multi-sentence written text. The relation of core linguistic abilities to conversational abilities reflects ability to participate in social exchanges using language. This has relevance to student/teacher interaction, and whether or not the student can recognize and manipulate the academic knowledge imparted by the teacher and tested by various educational concerns from the district to the state and national level.

The taxonomy below presents the aspects of language abilities of interest to the reported study, and can be compared to the taxonomies of communicative competence in the diagram presented above.

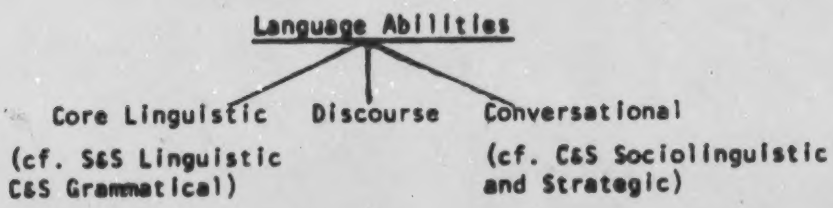

Language Abilities
Core Linguistic
Discourse
Conversational
(cf. S&S Linguistic
C&S Grammatical)
(cf. C&S Sociolinguistic
and Strategic)

Diagram 1.3 Taxonomy of language abilities under study.

In considering these three levels of language abilities simultaneously, the study departs from an approach toward integrating various aspects of communicative competence which probes the various components individually in a sequence of tests (e.g., Cummins, 1981b and Politzer & Ramirez, 1981).

It is a basic theme of the study that these various factors are not separable under any circumstances, but that all exert an influence on any linguistic utterance.

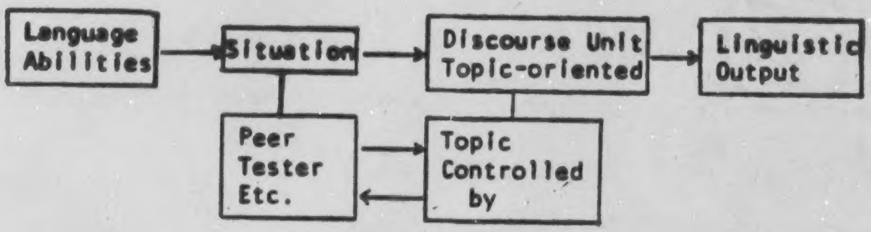

Language Abilities
Situation
Discourse Unit Topic-oriented
Linguistic Output
Peer Tester Etc.
Topic Controlled by

Diagram 1.4 Scheme of the relationship between language abilities and linguistic output.

According to this scheme, language abilities cannot be directly observed but must be inferred from the linguistic output. The linguistic output, or speech sample data, is shaped in turn by situation, a large variable in which the relationship of the participants to each other is of prime importance, and then by the topic-oriented discourse unit, a variable within any particular situation affected by such factors as whether the particular topic of the discourse originates with the speaker or another participant (previous speaker, such as the interviewer or another peer), and the extent to which the speaker controls the information presented in the discourse unit, i.e., has knowledge of it, to a greater or less extent than other participants. Thus, for example, in the case of many narratives of personal experience, the speaker has greater, often even exclusive, knowledge of the events being reported and cannot be easily contradicted by other participants. In such a case the speaker is the authority on the content of what he is saying, even if his command of the language used is not as great as that of other participants. Speech behavior under these conditions is of particular interest since it is relatively easy to separate out limitations imposed by lack of knowledge of the language being used.

The study was specifically designed to avoid the limitations of the LPA instruments in situation and topic. The longest phase of the study design uses the sociolinguistic interview format for maximizing a speaker's linguistic output in a short amount of time, used extensively in community studies outside of the school context (cf. Labov, 1980, Sankoff, 1979 for discussion and case studies). Unlike all conventional language proficiency testing, choice of topic is left up to the speakers, the only constraints being that we obtain the types of extended speech (discourse units/DUs) that we are interested in (see below). The assumption underlying this procedure is that the speech output of speakers is maximized when they are free to accept, reject and volunteer topics of their own choice.

In sociolinguistic fieldwork it has been demonstrated that the inclusion of peers also enhances a speaker's performance. In addition, it gives us information about peer patterns of verbal interaction which match more closely the language of everyday life than interaction with a stranger or other outsider alone (cf. esp. Labov, 1972).

1.5 Summary of Chapter

This study reports on a study of the core linguistic, discourse and conversational behavior of 10- to 12-year old fifth and sixth grade students of bilingual background in the Los Angeles area.

The study addresses the development of the students' language skills as evidenced in spontaneous speech obtained through sociolinguistic methods of observation and analysis, and compares this with the linguistic behavior obtained in other situations, most centrally addressing the difference between language behavior in the peer sociolinguistic interview sessions and in individual interviews following the methods used by language proficiency assessment instruments (LPAIs).

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

This chapter reports on the field methods used in the present study.

2.0 Sites

Two sites in different school districts of the Los Angeles area were selected for sampling. They were sampled consecutively.

The first site, Site 1, is an elementary school in the Southeastern area of Los Angeles County. The enrollment in the school in 1980-1981 shows a 50% Hispanic population. The school serves a community which is about half Mexican-American and half White Anglo. From this school, members of both the fifth and sixth grade bilingual classes were selected in a manner described below.

The second site, Site 2, is an elementary school in the East Los Angeles area of Los Angeles County. This school serves a community which is predominantly Mexican-American, and was classified in Los Angeles as a RIM (Racially Isolated Minority) school. The population of the school was 90% Hispanic in the school year 1980-1981. In this school students were selected from three sixth grade classes, one bilingual (Spanish/English) and two monolingual (English).

2.1 Selection Process

The original study design called for filling a judgment sample of limited and fluent English speakers according to the classification system used at each school. At Site 1 the LPAI used for the classification process was LAS, at Site 2 BINL.

For each English proficiency level we sought both first and non-first generation speakers of Spanish, where first generation refers to a speaker who was not born in the U.S. and non-first refers to one who was born in the U.S. In all cases except two the non-first were second generation (both parents born outside of the U.S.). After obtaining the necessary clearance at the district and school levels, a meeting was arranged at each site with the teachers of each of the target classes. The project was explained and the teachers obtained parental consent forms to distribute to all students in the class. The consent forms allowed students to participate in the project NCBR staff to inspect the students' cumulative records for selecting target students, and to record the students' speech.

In distributing the consent forms to the class, the teachers explained to the students that the project would deal with the students' views on their experiences of life and language both inside and outside of the classroom, and that the project would not be a test nor be graded; rather, the project would involve an interview and would provide an opportunity for them to express their views. Further, they were to pick two friends of their own choosing to participate in the interview with them. It was explained that it could not be anticipated how many students would actually be selected to participate, but that an effort would be made to interview all who were interested. As the project proceeded, the students' response was overwhelming. A number of students beyond those needed were given shortened versions of the interview (which will not figure in the report), and some students from below the fifth grade level had to be turned down.

Once the consent forms came in, the selection of target students began with inspection of cumulative records in order to fill the sample cells. The free selection of peers constitutes a collaborative effort among researchers and students in constructing the sample.

The resultant sample on which this report is based is broken down below by site, proficiency status (according to school record), generation and sex.

Table 2.1 Characteristics of Sample.

		Site 1			Site 2		
		G1	G2	Total	G1	G2	Total
L	m	4	--	4	3	1	4
	f	6	1	7	3	--	3
Total		10	1	11	6	1	7
F	m	1	3	4	4	4	8
	f	1	1	2	2	6	8
Total		2	4	6	6	10	16
Grand Total		12	5	17	12	11	23

G1 = first generation, G2 = non-first generation, L = recorded as limited, F = recorded as fluent, m = male, f = female.

In addition to these 40 speakers for whom a proficiency status was recorded, there are 6 other students included in the sample, either because they were picked by target students (researcher-selected) or for reasons discussed below.

Of these six, four were at Site 1. Two were English-only according to their Home Language Survey (HLS) and thus had not been tested for language proficiency. Two were Spanish-only and had arrived in the U.S. within six months of recording. They had not yet been tested by an English LPAI but undoubtedly would have scored as Non-English speaking (NES). According to our observations, their ability to produce or comprehend English was minimal. All four at Site 1 were male.

At Site 2 two additional speakers were peer-selected. They were both English-only according to their HLS and thus had not been tested.

This brings the overall sample size to 46.

Table 2.1 shows that it was extremely rare to find a late preadolescent G2 student who was categorized as non-fluent in English. If there had been more, they would have been included in the sample.

While the overall data base for the study includes 46 students, some of these students were picked through special circumstances beyond the original requirements. In several cases, interviews were broken into several sessions due to time limitations, and one of the original participants of one group session was absent on a next occasion. Under these circumstances, a new participant was allowed to be included in the interview if the other participants so desired. In one case, a misunderstanding by a target student (CR) caused him to pick two speakers who actually selected themselves but were not usual friends of his. This did not count as a "true" peer group session, following the rule of "target student selects peers." It turned out that (CR) was reselected by another target student at a later point. This case was of interest since (CR) was classfied as a limited English speaker who preferred to speak Spanish. In the first group session the other two speakers were monolingual English speakers. In his "true" peer group session, all participants were classified as fluent in Spanish. Finally, in another case, a speaker who was identified as limited in English spoke almost exclusively in English in a "true" peer group session, although all three peers were classified as fluent in Spanish.

in order to elicit Spanish from him, a later session was set up with the two non-English speakers mentioned above. This case goes beyond the paradigmatic peer selected situations.

The core sample of self-selected peer groups consists of 12 peer groups, 36 speakers (10 less than the overall sample). Five of these "true" peer groups were from Site 1. The seven others were at Site 2. The characteristics of the core sample will be discussed in the section on peer selection.

2.2 Language Sampling Paradigm (Field Methods)

The full language sampling paradigm consisted of three different situations which are discussed in turn below:

1. The discourse interview;
2. The peer conference;
3. The LPAI interview.

2.2.1 The discourse interview. The basic data on spontaneous speech from each of the speakers was obtained in the discourse interview (DI). The participants in DI were the group of three peers and an adult male interviewer. The same interviewer participated in all DI sessions except one. In that session the principal investigator conducted an additional DI with one peer group which had already completed the original DI.

The DI interviewer was a third generation Mexican-American from East Los Angeles in his late twenties, equally conversant in the non-standard English and Spanish of that community. He had no prior experience in interviewing techniques or with working with that age group, and was trained on the job. The interviewer was not informed of any student's language proficiency status in advance.

The objective of the DI interviewer was above all to keep conversation going among the peers. More specifically, it was to obtain as many samples of extended speech as possible from the peers, a minimum of three discourse units from each peer in each language (English and Spanish, if both were possible). Discourse units are minimally defined as three consecutive clauses on the same topic by a single speaker. They will be discussed further in the chapters on analysis.

The primary function of the interviewer was to initiate topics in order to elicit discourse units from the speakers, but only when necessary. More highly valued were topics initiated by peers. In this case the interviewer's function was simply to recognize and encourage peer-initiated topics. A hot topic was recognized when a topic pursued by a peer immediately gave rise to another unit on the same or a related topic by another peer with no intervention by the interviewer; intervening to keep talk going. All the interviewer had to do was indicate interest in the topic and distribute talk so that all who tried to speak got an opportunity to take the floor. In sum, the principle upon which interviewing technique was based was: The less actively the interviewer had to participate in order to maintain conversation among peers, the more successful the interview was considered.

For the initial interviews an ordered schedule of topics was devised. This schedule consists of a set of modules which have been successful in eliciting speech in some other sociolinguistic work, or which contained information of specific interest to the project (e.g., demographic and attitudinal data, or were specifically geared to the cultural milieu of the students, e.g., the topic of cholos. An extensive account of sociolinguistic interviewing techniques is found in Labov, 1981). The schedule is found in Appendix A of this report. However, it must be emphasized that the schedule was considered a crutch. Under no circumstances did the interviewer reveal a piece of paper in the DI sessions. The topics were committed to memory and served as a guide to eliciting speech. To a large extent the topics were unordered, leaving only the language questions for the finale. The most effective interview technique consisted of linking topics to previous topics. Thus, for example, if a speaker was talking about his/her neighborhood and mentioned cholos, an adolescent life-style descended from the earlier pachucos, and known to all speakers at both sites, the interviewer could select this as a new topic.

As a whole, the topics were extremely successful at stimulating extended speech, and, in many instances, proved their appropriateness by being initiated by the speakers before the interviewer had a chance to introduce them. Thus, in many cases, the list of topics was a guide to recognition of spontaneous topics as well as a stimulus to extended speech. This should not be especially surprising once it is realized that most topics on the list represent an accumulation of topics that were spontaneously offered by other speakers in other sociolinguistic interviews. Of course, it would be a mistake to think that any topic was received with equal enthusiasm by all speakers. The topic which came closest to this ideal was "accidents" and similar topics involving eye-witness or participation in dangerous incidents.

Perhaps somewhat more surprising was that topics which a priori seem transparent vehicles for language performance (test-like), rather than intrinsically interesting, such as recipes, house and room descriptions, were received with great enthusiasm by most speakers. They not only spoke eagerly on these topics, but attended to each other's performance with interest and often amusement.

While the interview procedure was successful in obtaining extended speech from most speakers in one language, the techniques of obtaining speech in the other language without explicitly requesting it was not sufficient to obtain the required sample in both languages for most speakers.

Some studies of younger bilinguals, particularly Puerto Ricans in New York City, indicate that children "follow the leader" with regard to language choice when they have the ability to converse in both, either immediately or after a few utterances by their addresser persisting in the desired language (cf. Zentella, 1978). However, we found that this was rarely the case among the speakers we interviewed, at either site.

In many cases the absence of this "follow the leader" behavior did not imply lack of ability in the desired language, or even dominance as measured by the LPA instruments indicated on the child's school record.

Because of this behavior, the initial discourse interview had to be supplemented with an additional interview for each group. Thus, instead of a DI consisting of a single interview and/or situation, two DIs were held for each group. The two DIs are hereafter referred to as:

DI-1: the initial discourse interview

DI-2: the supplementary discourse interview

These two DIs represent distinct situations, DI-1 in which language choice is free, and DI-2 in which efforts were made by the interviewer to actively direct it. These two DIs are described in more detail immediately below.

(1) DI-1. In DI-1 the choice of language was left up to the peers themselves. Speakers were free to initiate or reject topics and were especially free to interact verbally with each other without the interviewer intervening, as long as the desired DUs were obtained. The first question asked was whether the proceedings should be conducted in Spanish, English or both. The resultant answer was invariably both. The interviewer was instructed to use both Spanish and English in any way that he chose; he was, however, not explicitly to request the use of one language or the other at any point. The goal was to obtain at least three DUs in each language, if possible, but above all to keep conversation going.

Under the conditions set forth for DI-1, it proved unusual to be able to elicit DUs in both languages for most speakers. Speakers generally showed an overwhelming preference for one language. For purposes of DI-1 we defined language preference as the language chosen by each speaker for at least 75% of all DUs produced by the speaker, as long as at least four DUs were produced altogether.

Language preference will be analyzed and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

(2) DI-2. Since DI-1 revealed a pattern of language preference which prevented fulfillment of our minimal objective of three DUs per

language from all speakers (who were capable of it), upon review of each group's performance of DI-1, a second session was held in which the objective was to enrich the DU data for each speaker, and complete the objectives of DI-1.

As a consequence, DI-2 represents a different situation from DI-1. Usually, in DI-2 there were some points in each interview at which the interviewer would overtly request a change in language, as in:

OM 10m (LAS 5/5): . . . I get yk* two eggs n put yk lard [yk on there,
OS 12m (LAS 2/5): (to OM) [which kind?

OM: on the pan.
IV 26m: (to OM) En español, a ver ¿cómo?

OM: 'garro este una olla, entonces le pongo manteca, tantita manteca . . .'

(*yk = y' know)

Explicit directives for language choice, such as that represented by IV (interviewer), are absent in DI-1. Never in DI-2 did the interviewer intervene into a discourse more than once to overtly request a change of language. It had to be clear to the speakers that the DU was more highly valued than the language it was given in. On the other hand, once such a request was made by the interviewer, he maintained the language requested for his own speech, regardless of which language the peer used. This behavior was distinct from the less obvious pattern of language alternation used by the interviewer in DI-1.

The DUs obtained in DI-2 for the non-preferred language are helpful in understanding the reasons for the preferred language pattern in DI-1, and particularly, the extent to which language abilities are involved.

2.2.2 The peer conference. The peer conference was specifically designed to change the situation by removing the interviewer effect from verbal interaction among the peers. In this situation the interviewer left the peer group alone with a task for about ten minutes. The task involved conferring on the creation of a story from a wordless comic-book-like instrument of 28 panels (the BSM-2 instrument). The peers were instructed to create a story in both Spanish and English and informed that the conference would be recorded.

The peer conference provided an extremely rich source of information about both verbal interaction and approaches to or avoidance of school-like tasks.

2.2.3 The LPAI interview. The final phase of the study of each individual was a test-like situation which simulated some of the usual conditions of LPA administration. In this situation, each student was given a section of the BSM-1 in Spanish and English and the story retelling task (called "production" by the test makers) from the LAS in both languages.

For BSM-1 we selected the three pictures 5-7 which present a coherent mini-story and the associated questions, since this was the longest coherent section of that test. All speakers readily understood the relationship between the panels.

A female bilingual interviewer, Mexican-born but not of recognizably Mexican appearance, previously unknown to the speakers, administered the LPA fragments to each individual speaker alone. The interviewer was not made aware of any speaker's language proficiency status in advance nor of their behavior in the previous sessions. Her own estimation of their understanding of English and Spanish was considered valuble data.

All proceedings were recorded. The order of tests followed was invariably (Spanish) BSM, LAS, (English) BSM, LAS. This session will be referred to as LPI (Language Proficiency Interview).

Although no attempt was made to conceal from the speakers that this situation was part of the same project as the other situations, the requirement of individuals rather than peer groups, use of a different interviewer, and the initiation of this phase after the other phases were completed for all speakers at the site, were intended to distance this situation as much as possible from the others in order to reduce the effects of the previous situations.

Originally, it had been envisaged that the location of this interview would also be altered, from the trailer used for the other phases, to a room in one of the school buildings. In neither site, however, were rooms conveniently available for this purpose. Therefore, place was not used as a variable of situation in this study.

The effects of the previous phases on the behavior of individuals in the LPAI phase were most striking in an incident in one classroom. As the first speaker selected for this phase rose from her seat, her two partners from the previous phases also began to rise. It had to be explained for a second time that in this situation only one person participated at a time. The interviewer was also struck by the knowledgeable ease with which the speakers adjusted and manipulated their microphones, a skill which they had learned in the prior phase.

The similarities and differences between the language behavior exhibited in this and in the other sessions provide the basis for our comparison of language abilities and language proficiency.

2.3 Equipment

The basic equipment used in the data collection phase were a trailer, a Sony TCM5D stereo cassette recorder, and two AT805S miniature omnidirectional electret condenser microphones equipped with clip-on attachments and 15-foot cords.

The trailer, referred to by that name by all participants, resembled from the exterior a metal room added to a house. It had two doors and two sliding windows covered by screens in the front, and one window on each side. The trailer was equipped with a built-in fan, lighting installations, and electrical outlets. It had to be connected to a power source in the school in order to receive electricity. It was towed to each site by an independent vehicle and then mounted on-site to secure its equilibrium. Once in place, it remained there for the duration of the project at each site. Inside, the trailer had two rooms divided by a wall and connected by an interior door which was kept closed but not locked. One room had a table and four chairs around which the participants in the peer group sessions sat. The second room was empty. The "mystery" of the second room proved to be a valuable stimulus to verbal interaction during the peer session, when the peers were left alone. A number of speakers went so far as to open the door and enter the second room.

The recording equipment provided for high quality reproduction. The use of two separate microphones and two separate tracks were essential in insuring the recognition of distinct voices in many sessions. It also aided greatly in preserving comprehensibility of overlapping speech.

The microphones were battery-powered and had switches which allowed them to be easily turned on and off. The switches to be a disadvantage since in a few cases, either by accident or design, one peer would turn off the attached microphone with disastrous effects on sound quality. Fortunately, these instances were extremely rare and of short duration.

During the peer sessions, two peers attached the microphones to their shirts or blouses. The third peer sat between them. The distance between the individuals was small enough so that they could touch each other if they extended their arms. The interviewer sat facing the middle peer, equidistant from the other two.

In the individual interview, the interviewer and the individual subject sat facing each other. Each used one of the clip-on microphones.

A second, battery-powered, tape recorder was used to play the recorded LAS-1 stories for retelling.

2.4 Follow-Up

After all recorded sessions at each site were completed, the principal investigator arranged for an informal interview with each student's teacher to discuss each child individually.

These interviews were designed to provide teacher's observations of the students. The questions asked concerning each student included the teacher's observations on:

- The student's friends and associates in school;
- The language(s) used by the student to friends and the teacher;
- An estimate of the student's fluency in each language, with a request for specific examples in the case of non-fluency;
- A rating from one-to-five on a scale from quiet to talkative;
- The student's general classroom conduct;
- The student's current level of achievement in reading and math; and
- An estimation of the student's parents' educational attainment both here and in Mexico, if possible.

The principal investigator took notes on a blank piece of paper during the interviews, but no sound recording was used.

In all, five teachers were interviewed, representing the five classrooms contributing to the sample.

2.5 Data Handling

All proceedings of all sessions were recorded on Maxell C-90 low-noise cassettes. These were labeled and dated immediately after each session. Each master cassette was reviewed by the project investigator within a few days, if not the same day, after the recording was made. The review consisted of listening to each recording in its entirety and taking notes. The notes were used both to provide feedback to the interviewer and to single out specific events for further analysis.

The master cassettes were copied and the copies were transcribed directly onto a word processor by a bilingual secretary. Print-outs of the transcripts were edited by comparison with the original recordings and analyzed.

The analyses are presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3. SITUATION AS A FACTOR IN LANGUAGE CHOICE

While a great deal of bilingual research has looked at the effect of situation on language choice in natural (everyday recurring) situations, e.g., by participants, topic, domain, etc., a major concern of this study is to determine:

1) To what extent the effects of social norms for language choice can be distinguished from more specific limitations in language abilities on the level of discourse and core linguistic features.

2) To what extent the social norms for language choice in the situations of the study reflect the importation of norms by the speakers from more familiar and recurrent situations, and particularly habitual situations in their social lives.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this issue had to be faced directly in practice in order to fulfill the project objectives of obtaining extended discourse in both languages.

Below are analyses of the data which address the two sides of the language choice issue stated above.

3.0 Speaker Selection Behavior

To begin analysis of language choice according to situation, peer selection behavior for the DIs is discussed. The composition of each of the groups is important in distinguishing language choice based on ability from language choice based on social constraints. To the extent the members of the peer group frequently interact verbally in natural settings, regular patterns of language choice may have already been established and imported into the DI sessions.

While our conclusions about effects on language choice will be based on convergence of data from all observed situations and the additional data from the Home Language Survey and teachers' observations, we begin with speaker selection behavior.

In this section, the speakers selected by the researchers will be referred to as the *targets*. The speakers selected by the targets will be referred to as the *peers*. Elsewhere all subjects are simply referred to either as *speakers* or *peers* depending on whether focus is being directed toward their linguistic roles or social roles in relation to each other.

A total of 12 groups, 5 at Site 1 and 7 at Site 2, fulfill the requirements of free picking of two peers by target students. This *core sample* consists of 36 speakers, 12 picked by the researchers according to English level and generation, and 24 picked by these 12.

In this discussion there is no concern with the additional speakers in those groups whose composition was manipulated by the researchers, or for whom there is incomplete data.

The following tables show that neither proficiency status nor generation--first or non-first (in all, except two cases, second)--is an accurate predictor of selection.

Table 3.1 Target's Choice of Two Peers by English Level.

		Peers by	English	Level
		both L	both F	L + F
Target	L	1	4	1
	F	2	2	2

Table 3.2 Target's Choice of Two Peers by Generational Status.

		Peers by	Generation	
		only first	only non-first	both
Target	first	2	3	3
	non-f	1	1	2

(L = labelled limited proficient; F = labelled fluent proficient; according to LPA test criteria.)

The most predictable feature of selection behavior was sex. Without exception, targets selected peers of the same sex.

At this point language choice in each situation is discussed, beginning with the first session of the paradigm, DI-1.

3.1 Language Choice in DI-1

This first phase of the study was DI-1 (Discourse Interview-1). It is considered a single situation from the moment that the interview and the three peers entered the trailer to the moment that the interviewer left.

Since the objective of DI-1 was to obtain as many discourse units as possible from each speaker, analysis will be primarilly concerned with the language choice of each speaker in producing discourse units.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a DU was recognized when a speaker produced a minimum of three consecutive clauses on the same topic. Most DUs were much longer. Other features of DUs necessary to recognizing them as coherent units are their beginnings and endings. These will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter since they require discussion of core linguistic structures.

Given a discourse unit, there are three possibilities for categorization according to language choice:

1. English,
2. Spanish,
3. Mixed.

Mixed DUs were recognized as those which had at least one clause in the other language.

The following example illustrates the beginning of a mixed DU. The three underlined verbs indicate the three consecutive clauses on a single topic. The switch from English to Spanish for the duration of the third clause is sufficient to classify the DU as mixed.

(3.1) My sister says that when she--in Blood Beach when they go down they nomás se bajan en un colchón así . . .
(AL 12F10724SE)

The requirement that at least one clause be in the other language allows a single Spanish verb with its associated inflections to count as mixed, in those cases where the verb alone could constitute an entire clause. Thus, a switch to Spanish in se bajan 'they go down' would have been enough to qualify the entire DU as mixed.

On the other hand, neither of the following passages are sufficient to qualify their DUs as mixed, since the switches are not possible clauses.

(3.2) . . . he bit her n she ran through-through el volante n he was like this all killed.
(AL 12F10724SE)

In (3.2) the switch from English to Spanish lasts only for the duration of the underlined noun phrase (NP). The passage consists of three English clauses.

(3.3) . . . one day que yo fui a su casa . . .
(RM 13M210NFSS)

In (3.3), the DU begins with the English temporal NP one day, but then shifts to Spanish before a single clause is completed. This passage consists of a single Spanish clause.

Finally, DUs in which switched clauses were confined to quotations were not considered mixed. The switching of language for quotations representing the language of the original utterance is well recognized as a special category of code switching, and is not at this point relevant to concern with ability and interactive effects on language choice (cf. Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1969, Valdes, 1980). Thus, the following example does not qualify its DU as mixed.

(3.4) . . . el muchacho se pone todo el uniforme de su papá y va
y le hace--I'm gna kill you - y le trata de apuntar . . .
(CR 12M10915SS)

In (3.4), CR is quoting the words of a character in the English movie that he's describing. The DU however was considered to be Spanish rather then mixed.

Similarly, the following DU segment shows extensive quotation but is not considered mixing.

(3.5) . . . entonces yo me enojé y le dije "how do you expect me
to do it if I don't have it?" Le dije yo así y luego X le
hace "do it!" y le dije "I ain't gna do it!" Y me quedé
así y le hace "we're gna wait for you until you do it"
. . .
(ME 11F205FXSS)

Further discussion of code-switching and its relevance to the concerns of this study will be discussed where appropriate, especially in the section on DI-2 where mixed DUs were much more frequent than in DI-1, (cf. section 3.3).

In counting DUs for each speaker the phenomenon of joint DUs counted as a single DU for each speaker as long as each speaker contributed at least three consecutive clauses to the DU. Joint DUs were DUs that were shared among speakers in turn alternations. They were more frequent among females than among males and necessarily centered around shared knowledge and/or experiences. They were most common when the topic was based on a movie description.

The joint participation was often openly negotiated between the peers as soon as they began to speak at the same time (cf. the contrapuntal stories told by Hawaiian children discussed in Watson, 1975). Any contribution of two or fewer clauses to a DU by a second speaker was simply considered a comment.

In DI-1, mixed DUs were so rare and single language DUs so common, given the above definitions, that it was possible to devise a measure of language preference for most speakers.

Language preference was strictly defined for each speaker as the language chosen for 75% of the total number of DUs produced by the speaker in DI-1, as long as four or more DUs were produced.

The following table shows the language preferences of the core sample, and the total number of DUs by language choice for each preference group.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Language Preference and Total Number of DUs per Language Choice for the Core Sample in DI-1.

	Number of speakers	Number of DUs per language choice			
		E	S	M	Total
E-preference	22	211	3	6	220
S-preference	11	7	80	6	93
No preference	1	2	4	--	6
Insufficient data	2	3	--	--	3
Total	36	223	87	12	322

(E = English, S = Spanish, M = mixed)

It is evident from Table 3.3 that almost two thirds of the sample exhibit English-preference. The S-preferent group as a whole shows more tolerance of mixing or use of the other language than does the E-preferent group, although the display does not allow us to make this claim about all individual speakers in either group.

This table is the first of many displays which show a bias toward English in the sample as a whole.

The table below shows that there is no obvious relationship between tested Spanish dominance and Spanish preference. The table is broken down by site because different LPAIs had been used to test proficiency at each site.

Table 3.4 Comparison of Speaker Language Preference to Tested Dominance at Each Site.

		Preference			Preference	
		E	S		E	S
tested dominance	E	1	--	E	--	--
	S	6	5	S	2	3
	=	1	1	=	--	--
Total		8	6		2	3
Site 1 (LAS)				Site 2 (BINL)		

(= refers to same criterial proficiency in both languages.)

First note that of the 33 speakers who showed a clear language preference, only 19 had been tested in both languages. Most peers at Site 2 had not been tested for Spanish proficiency at any time, according to the policy that only those who scored as limited in English needed to be tested in Spanish. Of the 11 speakers showing

Spanish preference on Table 3.3 above, 9 are on this table. The other two at Site 2 had tested as fluent in English.

The table indicates only a random relationship between tested dominance and language preference.

The conclusion is that examination of tested dominance does not contribute to our understanding of the language preferences of DI-1.

The following table shows that tested level of English proficiency tends to agree with Spanish preference only for the lowest proficiency levels. Again the table is broken down by site since difference LPAIs had been used to label the students.

Table 3.5 Comparison of Speaker Language Preference in DI-1 to Level of English at Each Site.

	Preference			Preference	
	E	S		E	S
1	--	2			
2	1	3	N	1	2
3	4	--	L	1	1
4	1	--	F	6	2
5	2	1	P	4	--
Total	8	6	Total	12	5

Site 1 (LAS) Site 2 (BINL)

(Cut-off point between limited and fluent underlined; the LAS uses a five-point numerical scale; the BINL uses a four-point adjectival scale: N = Non, L = Limited, F = Functional, P = Proficient.)

Table 3.5 displays the number of speakers showing each language preference for tested English proficiency level.

Only 31 of the 33 speakers figure in this table. The other two, both at Site 2, were English-only according to their Home Language Surveys and thus had not been tested for English proficiency.

The trends at both sites would resemble each other to a greater extent if either the cut-off point for LAS (Site 1) were reduced to between levels 2 and 3, or the cut-off point for the BINL (Site 2) were raised to between levels F and P.

At any rate, Table 3.5 suggests that tested language proficiency has a slight relevance to language-preference, but that the conventional cut-off between "limited" and "proficient" further reduces this possible relevance.

The following table shows that a much clearer pattern of relationship obtains between language preference and age of arrival (AOA hereafter). In this display speakers at both sites are combined, since relationship to tested language proficiency no longer concerns us, nor are we interested in the effect of geographical location at this point.

Table 3.6 Comparison of Speaker Language Preference in DI-1 to AOA.

	Preference	
AOA	E	S
0-5	20	1
6-8	2	5
9+	--	5
Total	22	11

Given the sample size there is no profit in further breaking down the AOA categories. Since the study is concerned with a narrow age range between 10 and 12, AOA is also indicative of length of residence (LOR) allowing accuracy at 2 year intervals. In fact, no speaker who had an LOR of less than five years showed the English preference pattern. The two speakers showing English preferent in the AOA 6-8 category both had an LOR of 5-6 years. All other English-preference speakers had an LOR of 6+ years.

Since all speakers in the AOA 0-5 category had been entirely educated in U.S. schools (in all cases within the Southern California area), the influence of the school in determining English preference is a possible factor.

At this point, it can be concluded that AOA is a much clearer factor in language-preference in DI-1 than tested dominance or English proficiency. However, it must be clearly understood that at this point AOA represents a complex set of factors with Length of Residence and the school effect as possible contributing variables.

When we try to interpret the language preference behavior, we are immediately confronted with the problem of situation. Language preference, as it has been defined in DI-1, is the feature of a single situation, which remains constant for setting; participants and the situational objectives determine the interviewer's behavior.

Before attempting to explain why AOA has an effect on language-preference, we must consider what changes occur in language choice when the situation is changed.

3.2 Language Choice in the Peer Conference

Any social situation can be analyzed into an indeterminately large number of features. Certainly foremost among these are the participants themselves with their quasi-permanent statuses (e.g., sex, ethnicity) and their perceived statuses in the situation (e.g., teacher, leader, friend, pest). Undoubtedly of equal importance are the objectives of the situation as perceived by the participants, and their motivation to maintain or change the situation (cf. Goffman, 1964, on situation as a social construct and his subsequent works on communication, both verbal and nonverbal, in different situations).

The peer conference (PC hereafter) was designed to change the situation in one extremely important way in order to approach more closely peer interaction outside of the influence of non-peers. This was done in the PC by removal of the physical presence of the interviewer.

The interviewer effect on language choice cannot be easily evaluated in DI-1 without any contrasting situation. No matter what devices he uses to try to accommodate to the peers, his permanent status as an adult, supported by his age and size difference from the peers, reinforces his authority status recognized at large in adult-child relations in all known societies, and implicitly transferred to him by the teachers who introduced the project to their classes. Thus, peer accommodation to the interviewer in their language choice as well as in all other aspects of their social behavior cannot be dismissed as irrelevant or negligible.

Even within the DI-1 situation, certain tests of the interviewer's status and authority were of a linguistic nature. For example, especially at Site 1, some peers made allusions to taboo words in a self-conscious manner indicating their knowledge that these words were not supposed to be used in front of adults. Site 2 differed from Site 1 in that some speakers used obscenity without hesitation or apology; but the PC differed from DI-1 at both sites in the number of speakers using taboo words and the ways they used them.

The interviewer also learned during his first interview that he was interesting to the peers, and was asked personal question about his background, family and life style. He was advised by the principal investigator that it was up to him how to answer such questions, but that if he wanted to encourage peers' sharing experiences with him he could improve his intimacy status by sharing with them, i.e., "by setting the example."

Admittedly, the physical absence of the interviewer from the PC was only an approximative solution to the interviewer effect. There still remained the interviewer-initiated task that the peers thought they were supposed to be doing, and the interviewer's imminent return, which was used playfully by some peers as "fake-outs" for disrupting activities which were not task focused, e.g., "here comes the man!," when he was, in fact, not coming. Interestingly, the interviewer effect might also be seen lingering in the assumption of his authority, or part of it, by a self-selected peer, (cf. the "scripts" used by some children in acting out teacher roles, as discussed in Duran & Guerra, 1981).

Despite these considerations, the PC caused a radical change in the situation in many respects. As mentioned above, the obscenity level rose in many groups. Features of the background in DI-1, such as the interior door to the second room and the needles on the VU-meters of the tape recorder, often came to the foreground verbally and physically. Even attitudes toward the interviewer were expressed, despite the operation of the tape recorder. No one ever turned off the tape recorder. It was only manipulated on occasion through the microphones.

Although the interviewer had proposed a focus of activity in advancing the task before leaving, the peers created a wide range of focuses for their activities beyond the task. It is possible that the variety of activities engaged in by the peers well represent the range of activities that students in a classroom may engage in when the teacher is not present or attending to them, from totally task-focused to total disruption.

Since PC had as its primary objective a sampling of verbal interaction among peers alone, any and all verbal activity was treated as valuable data.

The instructions introducing the PC had built-in limitations which inherently gave rise to the necessity for the peers to negotiate procedural details of the task among themselves if they were to follow the instructions. The interviewer's parting instructions contained the following substance:

> I'm gna leave you guys alone for about ten minutes. I have a book with pictures but no words here (= the BSM-2 instrument). I want you all to look at it and make up a story about it in Spanish and English. When I come back you can tell it to me.

Unstated in the instructions were how to proceed. Who should go first? Should everybody speak together? What language should be first? Would everybody have to tell the story twice, once in each language?

Those speakers who accepted the task had to discuss these issues with each other. Various strategies were applied. Most common was the strategy already encountered in DI-1, the joint DU, whereby subsequent blocks of panels rotated from one speaker to the next. The major difference between this rotational strategy in PC and the joint DUs of

DI-1 was that directives to the effect of "It's *your* turn" were more common than those indicating "It's *my* turn." A less used strategy was a *choral* ensemble recitation of the story. Finally, one speaker decided to interpret "English and Spanish *together*" as an invitation to mix both languages in a single telling. She laughingly insisted on using this strategy although she was criticized by her peers who said "No. First in English and *then* in Spanish."

(3.6) A: . . . dijo el papá que hiciera--
V: Oh yea, OK. (monitoring A's presentation)
A: . . . que hiciera el lonche al *mother so they can go eat lunch* . . . y la mamá estaba en una cosa *round,* se estaba *going around* uhm *the lake* (giggles)
H: (singing) Around and round
V: you're supposed to say it in--
A: (singing) Around n round you turn me. (all laugh)
V: You're supposed to say it in *English* and *then* in Spanish
H: Mhm, that's a mistake! R! R! Tha-- (laughs)
V: (as if annoyed) then go!
A: Entonces, estaba *swimming in the lake* . . .

Note that A is performing the task in a joking manner, H is joking around, and V is issuing directives as a self-appointed surrogate for the interviewer.

Some speakers totally rejected the task. As soon as the interviewer was gone they created other activities. The setting and opportunity was too attractive not to be used in some way. No one simply sat silently and waited for the interviewer to return. Everyone spoke.

(3.7) S: Ciérralo. Close it. M, please.[M immediately approached the door to the other room when the interviewer left.] N they going, n they going home [describing the pictures].
M: Please! Please! [Mocking S's directive].
C: [Singing and making untranscribable noises].
S: J (= a male classmate) el otro año quería a F (female classmate). [initiating gossip].
C: Sí, es cierto . . . [in response to S's last utterance].

Within a few seconds both M and C were in the second room.

In approaching analysis of language choice in the PC, the task was used as a reference point. All speech was divided into two categories:

1. On-topic,
2. Off-topic.

The topic is the story in the process of creation. All utterances directly describing or narrating the pictures are on-topic. All other utterances, ranging from questions and directions about the topic to totally disruptive behavior, were counted as off-topic.

Language choice for each type of speech in the PC was categorized as:

1. Only English,
2. Only Spanish,
3. Both.

The occurrence of any phrase of two or more words not uttered as a repetition of someone else's speech in the other language in either context qualified the entire context as use of both languages. Otherwise, only one language was recognized, in all cases either Spanish or English.

It will be noted that the criterion of both is less constrained in the PC than the criterion of mixed in DI-1. For example, all the examples containing switches in section 3.1 did not count as mixed in DI-1 but would count as both in the PC.

These differences between mixed and both are dictated by the nature of the data and the different objectives of the sessions. The speech of the PC off-task usually does not consist of coherent multi-sentence units addressed to a single topic, but, more often than not, shorter utterances involving rapid changes of turn. On the other hand, switches not involving clauses, while interesting at the sentence-level, are less interesting at the larger multi-sentence level. Given the length of most of the DUs in number of clauses, a failure to switch a single clause in a DU is just as striking as a failure to switch a smaller phrase in any of the sentences of the PC. In any event, the lenient criterion for both was designed to register use of one or the other language in three-word utterances constituting entire turns.

Table 3.7 below compares language choice in the PC with language-preference in DI-1. Note that although the PC directly followed DI-1, in some cases DI-1 had to be broken down into two shorter sessions. On the days of PC for the peer groups, 3 speakers showing language preferences in DI-1 were absent. Therefore, the sample for off-topic speech is reduced from 33 to 30.

Table 3.7 Comparison of Speaker Language Preference in DI-1 by Language Choice Off- and On-Topic in the PC.

	Preference				Preference	
off-topic	E	S		on-topic	E	S
only E	17	0		only E	6	3
both	3	5		both	7	5
only S	0	5		only S	4	1
Total	20	10		Total	17	9

Off-topic speech shows a close correspondence to language preference. The use of both in the PC for speakers showing either preference simply registers the less constrained conditions in the PC for acknowledging the use of both languages. Of greater significance is the fact that no one switched exclusively to the non-preferred language in off-topic speech.

The conclusion is that whatever effects the interviewer may have had in DI-1 as a whole, it did not significantly effect the language choice made by the peers. Further evidence that the language preference of DI-1 and language choice in off-topic speech reflect the habitual patterns of the peers in natural settings, will be discussed below.

On-topic speech shows a strikingly different pattern from off-topic speech. First, 4 speakers totally rejected the task. Of the remaining 26, only 12 followed the instructions to the extent of uttering a two-word sequence on-topic in both languages. Finally, of the 14 speakers who limited the task to a single language, 7 (half of them) totally reversed the choice predicted by their language preference.

These seven "switch-over" speakers were members of four different peer groups. The three Spanish-preferent "switch-overs" came from two groups. One of them used only Spanish off-topic. The other two, in the same group, used English off-topic only in joking with each other, otherwise Spanish. The four English-preferent "switch-overs" were peers in two separate groups. All of them used English exclusively in off-topic speech. Thus, for all the "switch-overs," on-topic speech is contrary to the natural behavior (discussed below) reflected both in off-topic speech and language-preference.

The most probable reason for the reversal is suggested by CB, one of the Spanish-preferent switch-overs in the following segment:

(3.8) IV: . . . y what I want you to do is to look at it [= the BSM-2 booklet] and tell me what you think it is, in your own words. In English and in Spanish.
RM: OK.
CB: Hablenos más en Inglés porque Inglés no sabemos tanto.
RM: mhm
PQ: mhm

Thus, the reversal of language choice displayed by some speakers in PC on-topic reflects perception of the story construction as a school-like task. It seems that these speakers assume that a reversal of ordinary language behavior is desired. In simple terms, this suggests that these speakers considered PC on-topic to be aimed at the "harder" language.

This behavior is evidence that many students perceive that the object of tests, and possibly school subjects in general, is not to build on what they already know, but rather to focus on what they don't know, or don't know to the satisfaction of the school system. This effectively polarizes school subjects from other sources of knowledge in the students' life experience. The behavior is also evidence of those speakers' self-evaluation of their relative fluency in each language.

It has now been shown that while on-topic speech tends to be in a class by itself, there is no significant difference in language choice between DI-1 and off-topic speech.

We consider off-topic exchanges to be of particular interest, since this context most closely resembles situations of peer interaction outside of the classroom in terms of the control the peers have over their own and each other's behavior. Independent evidence of this comes from the home language survey (HLS) information, filled out by one of each speaker's caretakers, usually the mother. We categorized the responses of the HLS into three categories; N = no Spanish mentioned (English in 3 cases, Cantonese in one), SE = both Spanish and English mentioned (regardless of in answer to which of the four questions on the HLS), S = only Spanish mentioned.

Although finer resolution of off-topic conversation into specific acts is possible, e.g., into joking, whispering, capping, talking into the microphone, arguing, correcting, directing, etc., the HLS shows a clear correspondence to off-topic speech. The following table demonstrates this. Note that while 3 speakers were absent from the PC, none were the 3 speakers who did not qualify for language preference for DI-1. These are included in the sample comparing HLS with off-topic speech.

Table 3.8 Comparison of Speaker Language Choice Off-Topic in the PC by Report of the HLS.

	HLS			
off-topic	N	SE	S	Total
only E	4	7	7	18
both	0	3	7	10
only S	0	0	5	5
Total	4	10	19	33

(N = No Spanish reported, SE = both Spanish and English reported, S = only Spanish reported.)

The bias away from Spanish toward English corresponds to reports of English at home. Further data will show that the N group speakers have virtually no ability in Spanish, and that their language choice in the sessions is generalizable to many other, usually all, situations. The SE group is of particular interest since in most cases English was reported as the language usually used by the child, according to the parents. None of these speakers used only Spanish off-topic or in DI-1. Again the correspondence shows agreement between language choice in the study situations and parents' observations. Finally, the S group shows the same tendency toward English as the SE group, although to a lesser degree. For those S group speakers who used only E off-topic, the question remains whether the two languages tend to be strictly separated by domain, e.g., Spanish only in the home, English elsewhere, or whether the HLS is out of date or was ever accurate.

In any case, we can be reasonably confident that the language choice in DI-1 and off-topic speech reflects the language choice of the speakers in a much more general variety of situations, and thus approaches what would be found in natural speech situations.

At this point consideration turns to the reasons for language choice, and particularly to distinguishing the effects of situation as opposed to ability.

3.3 Control of Language Choice

As discussed above, research manipulation of language choice was minimal in DI-1 and off-topic speech. Speakers were free to import their normal language choice behavior into these situations. The last section indicates that to a large extent they did.

In DI-2 and the language proficiency interview (LPI) language choice was directly manipulated in order to enrich the sampling of each speaker in the other language.

By the time of DI-2 the interviewer had built a degree of rapport with the speakers. The speakers were willing, even enthusiastic, to return for a further session. They already had a familiarity with the procedures of the sessions and seemed to realize that extended speech from them on any topic was highly valued. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.1), the major difference between DI-1 and DI-2 was that DI-2 contained directives from the interviewer to use the other language. The extent to which this was successful in changing the language choice of the speakers is discussed below.

Table 3.9 below gives the overall number of DUs in each language in DI-2, according to the preference groups established in DI-1 (cf. Table 3.3, section 3.1). The criteria for language choice are the same as DI-1. Only the 33 for whom there was a criterial language preference in DI-1 are presented.

Table 3.9 Distribution of Language Preference in DI-1 and Number of DUs Per Language Choice in DI-2.

	Number of Speakers	Number of DUs for language choice			Total
		E	S	M	
E-preference	22	42	67	17	126
S-preference	11	13	37	16	66
Total	33	55	104	33	192

While Table 3.9 does not by any means imply success with all individual speakers, it is immediately noticeable that DI-2 greatly reduced the bias of language preference for the groups as a whole. It is also notable that the shift is greater for the E-preference group than for the S-preference group. In addition, the number of mixed DUs and its proportion to the total number of DUs for each group greatly increases.

It should be pointed out that there were three changes in peer group composition in DI-2; one by error, one by absence, and one by the absentee becoming a target who freely chose to pick new peers. These changes are not of concern since the objectives of DI-2 were simply to obtain a speech sample from the individuals of DI-1 in the other language. The question is no longer what natural language choices do the peers make for extended speech, but rather whether they have enough ability in each language to make a choice.

A further breakdown by AOA reveals further details of the speakers' responses to DI-2.

Table 3.10 Distribution of Numbers of DUs Per Language in DI-2 for Each Preference Group by AOA.

Number of DUs per language choice

	for E-preferent speakers			for S-preferent speakers		
AOA	E	S	M	E	S	M
0-5	31	58	17	3	3	1
6-8	11	9	0	5	7	12
9+	--	--	--	5	27	3
Total	42	67	17	13	37	16

As already noted in Table 3.6, section 3.1, there are no E-preferent speakers for the AOA 9+ group. The AOA 9+ group responded the most poorly to requests for DUs in the other language (English). The other groups responded much better. In discussing individual cases, it will be seen that some did not respond at all, while others totally reversed language choice.

A striking difference between the AOA 6-8 E-preferent group and the other groups is the absence of mixing. The issue of mixing, as defined in this chapter, and the general issue of code-switching as related to language abilities will be of concern in the following discussion of individual cases.

3.4 Motivations for Language Choice in the DIs

In approaching the question of why speakers show the language preference they do, and what relevance it has to their language abilities, individual cases must be discussed. The analysis so far characterizes the sample as a whole, but does not indicate the actual variety of language choice behaviors exhibited in the study. Some behaviors which look similar on the surface become much less similar in the light of more detailed observation. The reasons for mixing, and the quality of the resultant speech, are not the same for all speakers. This is also true for the separation of both languages. Furthermore, some speakers who project a lively, alert and insightful image in one language guise, appear incompetent, dull and withdrawn in the other. Other speakers maintain their charm and "personality" in both guises, sometimes even despite the change in the quality of their speech (cf. Wong-Fillmore, 1976).

In the following subsections individual cases will be presented according to the categorization scheme set up in the previous sections of this chapter.

3.4.1 Spanish-Preference Speakers

(1) Age of Arrival 9+. The speakers in this category are of major concern. They have had the least set of experiences in the American educational system, let alone in their new communities, and are in most need of expanded educational services if they are to gain access to the curriculum offered by American schools.

SO 12f. The social characteristics of her peer group are displayed below:

Name	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	BINL-E	BINL-S	HLS
*SO	12 f	10	2	N	P	S
AO	11 f	0	11	--	--	E
EG	11 f	0	11	F	--	S

(*target speaker, selected peers)

Below, a comparison of her behavior in the two DIs shows that it did not change; she produced no English DUs:

	DI-1			D-2		
	S	E	M	S	E	M
SO	10	0	0	4	0	0
AO	0	7	0	0	1	0
EG	4	2	0	0	0	0

SO was the extreme case. She never uttered a single English word in either DI, let alone produce an English clause. On the other hand, her peers did speak in English, one exclusively. There is no accommodation to English speakers in SO's behavior. However, SO did show evidence of understanding English:

(3.9) IV: What kind--do you guys like to dance?
AO: No.
IV: No? Do you like to dance?
EG: No.
IV: You just like to watch people dance or what?
EG: Yes.
IV: ¿Y usted?
SO: Sí, sí me gusta bailar . . .

SO gave the following account for not speaking English.

(3.10) Como cuando--cuando yo lo hablo . . . en la mesa donde estoy asentada con--con mis amigas, lo hablo y se burlan de mí . . .

By her account, SO fears ridicule if she speaks English. Her teacher reported that on occasion SO would send a classmate to ask him a question in English rather than risk having to speak English herself.

In the LPI, where no peers were present, she was more cooperative. In that session she gave her only data on production of English as well as evidence of extensive comprehension. The LPI was a valuable source of tapping some of SO's abilities in English. However, it cannot claim to represent her habitual behavior nor reveal her acute sensitivity to situation in speaking English.

SO's suppression of English in peer settings is similar to that of several other speakers. Her performance in English will be discussed in the next chapter.

AA 12m. The social characteristics of the speakers in his DIs are presented below:

Name	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	BINL-E	BINL-S	HLS
AA	12 m	11	1	L	P	S
*AR	12 m	7	5	F	--	S
BR	12 m	9	3	F	--	S
**PA	12 m	10	2	L	--	S

(*target speaker, **replacement for BR who was absent from DI-2)

The discourse behavior of the speakers is compared for both DIs below.

	DI-1			DI-2		
	Se	E	M	Se	E	M
AA	6	0	0	0	1	0
AR	5	0	0	0	2	0
BR	8	0	0	absent		
PA	not picked			0	0	0

AA, who was extremely voluble in Spanish in DI-1, appeared quiet and shy when the rules were changed to encourage English in DI-2.

(3.11) IV: So, so do you like doing that or does that bother you [= taking care of younger siblings] or - huh?
AA: I don't know.
IV: You don't know?
AR: ¿Te gusta hacerlo?
AA: No.
(later)
IV: You don't like to do it because you--your parents force you or what?
AA: I don't know.
(later)
IV: Oh the last--yesterday you were talking like crazy, I couldn't stop you. Now you don't wanna talk, now you don't know anything . . .

As the interviewer observes, AA's behavior in English was stoic and taciturn. He made frequent use of the evasive "I don't know" to reject all topics. Finally AA overtly rejected English.

(3.12) IV: Mm, do you feel that way, A? [= that people's views of other people depend on where they were born]
AA: Yes.
IV: Why? (pause)
AR: ¿No sabes otra palabra, A?
AA: No (laughs uncomfortably) yo no quiero hablar inglés.
IV: No quieres hablar inglés. So how come you told me yesterday you didn't mind talking in English?
AA: Se me olvidó (the peers laugh)
IV: So what do you do when you need to talk in English at a store or you have to help somebody in--in a situation when they only speak Spanish?
AA: I don't want to speak English.
. . .

AA presents a less extreme case than SO. He provided data on English production on the phrase and clause level, but only once on the discourse level.

An interesting feature of AA's behavior in DI-2 was his willingness to help PA answer questions in English, although he was reluctant to speak English when directly addressed.

(3.13) IV: (to PA) So what part of Mexico are you from, P?
AA: Chihuahua.
PA: In Tijuana.
IV: (to PA) Tijuana, so you were raised in Tijuana?
AA: Yes.
PA: Yes.
IV: (to PA) So what do you think about uhm living here and going to school here. You like it?
AA: Yes.
PA: Maybe.
AR: (to AA) Shut up, all right? (they all laugh)
IV: (to PA) You don't want to talk either, huh?
AA: No.
AR: I know. They're lazy.
IV: They're lazy?
AA: (to AR) and you too.
AR: unh unh. I'm talking like a perico. (pause)
AA: That's what you say!

The language help pattern, in the form of speaking for someone else present, recurs with other speakers as noted later.

RM 13m

Name	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	BINL-E	BINL-S	HLS
*RM	13 m	10	3	N	F	S
AP	12 m	0	12	P	--	SE
JR	12 m	0	12	F	--	SE

(*target speaker)

	DI-1			DI-2		
	S	E	M	S	E	M
RM	8	0	1	5	1	3
AP	0	11	0	3	6	0
JR	0	13	2	absent		

RM shows a different behavior from the speakers discussed above. Despite the near absence of English DUs in his data, his use of mixed DUs rises in DI-2. This extends a strategy already evident in DI-1.

RM fully participated in DI-1 and clearly understood what the other speakers said although they spoke in English most of the time:

(3.14) JR: Yeah, last - last time uhm you could tell right away. They (= the fish) start moving their tail and then you see like when the water boils like that it looks like that.
RM: Una de esas que hay - son tumbes - cosas que dice agua así que se ve.
AP: Like yesterday there was . . .

In this passage, RM is explaining in Spanish what JR means by the water boils.

RM did not hesitate to inject himself into English conversations, either wholly in Spanish or in the manner described below.

The mixed DUs in both DIs are extensions of a pattern used by RM with great frequency in both DIs.

In DI-1, in which his peers, who were also his friends outside of school, exhibited clear English preference, RM often began his DUs with a few English words.

(3.15) Me when ahí junto a mi casa siempre nos ponemos a veces, en summer nos ponemos a jugar . . .
(cf. (3.3) in section 3.1)

In all cases except one he switched to Spanish before completing a clause and did not switch back to English for any subsequent clause. Therefore only one of his examples qualified as a mixed DU.

In DI-2, where the issue of speaking the other language became overt, he pursued the same strategy, but more often completed an entire clause in English before switching to Spanish.

(3.16) Man, I has three years in this school. Mi hermano llegó de once años y - y el primer año pasó el . . .

It was as if he felt that completing the first clause in English was sufficient to fulfill the requirement, before returning to the language he obviously preferred.

Only in one case, when pressed, did he complete an entire DU in English, a minimal one of three clauses and a ritual coda.

(3.17) RM: m, pues le gustaban las novelas (laughs) y le iba - en, en Sonora este hacía mucho--a sus amigos.
IV: a ver platícanos en inglés, a ver. ¿En Sonora qué pasaba? Y luego le preguntó en español (laughs) n what useta happen in Sonora with your brother?
RM: Man, he only - he goes to his friend's house n said to - if he has some books, to read. That's it.

RM's behavior contrasts with SO and AA. They did not switch at all. It is the first piece of evidence discussed which indicates that code-switching is an indicator of greater than minimal ability in the second language (L_2). This will be further justified in comparing the core linguistic development of RM's English with that of SO and AA in the next chapter. Other examples from other speakers will be encountered below in this chapter.

CR 12m. CR is the last speaker to be discussed in this section. In many ways his behavior is similar to RM's, not least of which is his self-assertiveness in English contexts despite his Spanish preference. The strategies he uses are also similar to RM's.

By a fortunate accident CR appears in two distinct peer groups. The first is with two monolingual English classmates who selected themselves when he hesitated in selecting two peers. In the second DI he was selected by the target along with another peer. All three were habitual friends with great facility in Spanish.

The first DI does not fit the paradigm of the project (cf. Chapter 2). It will be referred to as DI-F (= first).

The paradigm of DI-1 and DI-2 for his habitual peers will be conflated and referred to as DI-S (= second) for our present purposes.

Name	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	LAS-E	LAS-S	HLS
CR	12 m	9	3	1	5	S
VS[1]	12 m	0	12	--	--	E
JP[1]	12 m	0	12	--	--	E
*OM[2]	10 m	0	10	5	5	SE
OS[2]	12 m	8	4	2	5	S

(*target of DI-S, [1]DI-F, [2]DI-S)

	DI-F				DI-S		
	S	E	M		S	E	M
CR	1	7	0	CR	7	2	1
JP	0	12	0	OM	6	4	1
VS	0	2	0	OS	10	2	3

In DI-F, English monolingual JP was by far the most talkative. Despite his far lesser degree of facility in English, CR would often actively and persistently compete for the floor. The following segment on the hot topic of practical jokes shows CR succeeding in getting the floor after being ignored in a competition between JP and VS.

(3.18) JP: and then you get their other shoe, and you get it and tie it together or you could tie both, one person to another
VS: (quickly) or where you tie both feet together . . .
CR: n she's allright come on n she's come--
JP: (interrupting) the thing I hate is when--
CR: N when--when ⌈ remember - remember when
VS: ⌊ xx . . . xx . . .
CR: we saw in movie, we n go under the table
VS: oh yeah. (they all laugh)

CR's English phonology was often quite bizarre from the point of view of the peers, and included many features not commonly found among bilinguals of any degree of ability, including blends such as *gaf* (= *get* + *have* merged) and metanalyses such as *wak* (= *off*). He was often difficult for the transcriber to understand.

CR had to put up with teasing at various points in DI-F, especially from VS, as the following segment exemplifies. On this occasion he was supported by JP. The normalized orthography of the transcript does not do justice to CR's actual pronunciation.

(3.19) CR: Yesterday I went--
VS: You what?
CR: I went with my mother, I say my mom Alpha Beta (= a supermarket) and then--
VS: You what? You forbid her?
JP: Just shut up and listen.
VS: (as if suddenly realizing) Oh, Alpha Beta.
CR: (to VS) Yeah, man.
JP: Just ignore him.
CR: n then they stop my mother . . .

CR's insistence on his right to the floor is in marked contrast to SO's reticent behavior.

CR's vengeful comment to VS in the following segment from a later sequence indicates his realization that limitations on language facility cut both ways. He does not show concern over his projected image in speaking English.

(3.20) IV: (to VS) No, he (= CR) was asking me how to say that in English. Do you know what machucar means?
VS: No.
CR: (to VS) Dummy!

CR's assertive spirit and willingness to participate in English conversations is reminiscent of RM. However, because he was dealing with English monolinguals (unlike RM), he could not use the strategy of one clause or less in English and then a switch to Spanish. In many instances CR would initiate topics in English that referred to knowledge shared with the other participants, using a signalling device such as remember. Like RM, these began turns with a clause (or more) in English. But then instead of continuing in Spanish, he would cede the turn to another peer (usually JP). He would then sit back and monitor the topic as developed by the current speaker, interjecting English comments as he saw fit; (3.18) above exemplifies this strategy.

This example of CR's conversational ability in English represents further development of the strategy used by RM, certainly to the extent that CR more often exceeded one English clause than RM. Of course this does not mean that CR's conversational ability in English was intrinsically greater than RM's, since RM was less constrained to use English by his peers' ability in Spanish.

In turning to DI-S, however, it is evident that CR does indeed have more English discourse ability than RM, as evidenced by his more frequent and longer English (and mixed) DUs, and, most importantly, by his willingness to produce English DUs without being pressed. In DI-S all his peers can speak Spanish. Nevertheless, the following segment, which corresponds to the conditions of DI-2 for the other participants, illustrates his discourse ability in English under the condition of motivation.

```
(3.21)  IV:  (to OS) Melted, eh.  So[tell me -
        CR:                         [I know how to cook
        ____________________________________________________
             everything     [everything  everything!
        IV:                 [Tell me -               Tell me
        ____________________________________________________
             more of the dishes you know how to
             cook, C. [I know y're a great cook.
        OM:           [Cn you make a b-boiled    [steak
        CR:                                      [I'm a
        ____________________________________________________
             great cook.  I - I always make cakes.
        IV:  Hot [cakes?
        CR:      [huh?
        ____________________________________________________
        OM:  Can you make a boiled steak?
        CR:  El me ha visto siempre X X X
        IV:  How do you make them.  Platícame cómo se hacen.
        ____________________________________________________
        OS:  Oh I know how- awright, [go on.
        OM:                          [Make a boiled steak.
        CR:  Put uh first put harina on - no, the butter, butter.
             Then all we needs like wet, put the harina.  Then do
             it, do it.  When it's so all like balls right there
             you put . . .
```

Eventually this turned out to be a mixed DU.

(3.22) . . . like and then it's--it's sti-- like like *masa*. Luego I - *masa*, *luego* sugar, *luego* *rollarlo*, *luego* *pienso de qué color* . . .

Under conditions similar to RM's DIs, CR produces much more extensively English DUs.

The analysis of mixed DUs can be further refined quantitatively to indicate differential discourse abilities in either language. This is done for two further Spanish-preference speakers in the next section.

(2) *AOA 6-8*. Referring back to Table 3.6 in section 3.2, there were five Spanish-preferent speakers among the seven AOA 6-8 group.

Two of these speakers were in peer groups already described: AR, the target of AA's peer group; and OS, a member of CR's peer group. The other three were members of the same peer group.

The essential social data for the three speakers involved is shown below:

	AOA	LOR	E-LAS	S-LAS	HLS
*CB 11f	6	5	2	5	S
PQ 12f	6	6	2	5	S
RM 11f	7	4	1	5	S

All these girls are classmates in a bilingual fifth grade class at Site 1. They consider each other good friends and have been to each other's houses.

Using the same criteria as in DI-1, the contrast between the two DI sessions is displayed below:

	DI-1			DI-2		
	S	Mixed	E	S	Mixed	E
CB	7	1	0	0	4	1
PQ	11	2	0	0	7	0
RR	7	1	0	1	0	1

On the whole, the movement from DI-1 to DI-2 is away from use of Spanish alone toward mixed DUs, rather than exclusively English ones.

In inspecting these DUs, we are concerned with the motives for the code-switching behavior that give rise to the mixed DUs.

The literature on code-switching is large and diverse, and perhaps has engendered more controversy than necessary. First, different scholars have used the term with quite different meanings (cf. discussions in Baker, 1980; Wald, 1980a). Next, scholars have proposed a variety of motives for code-switching, e.g., ethnic identification (e.g., Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1969), mitigation and aggravation of speech acts (Valdes, 1980), topic or domain (Ervin-Tripp, 1970; Fishman, 1967). Finally, and most importantly for our purposes, different scholars have drawn different conclusions about the relationship of code-switching to ability in both languages. One particularly prominent proposal has distinguished different degrees of complexity in code-switching, especially intersentential and intrasentential switching. Thus, Poplack (1978) proposes that intrasentential switching is governed by the syntactic rules of both languages, such that it is a sign of knowledge of the syntax of both languages, and thus an indication of relatively high ability in both languages. Others have proposed that intrasentential codeswitching can be a sign of diminished ability in at least one of the languages (Gonzalez, 1977; Silva-Corvalan, 1980).

There is no reason to assume that all code-switching is a sign of one type of proficiency, limited, or the other, fluent, since the observations of these and other scholars do not report on the same populations or situations. Data from one study cannot be used to interpret data from another study without accounting for comparability of control.

In fact, it will be shown for the data at hand that switching behavior within a single speaker is not always motivated by the same considerations. There are differences in the contexts accompanying switches both by direction (from which language to which language) and act (change in act accompanying change in language).

In DI-2 we know the motive for the interviewer's speech behavior in favoring one language--to try to elicit that language from the speakers--and we can use contextual cues of various kinds to develop an understanding of the motives of the speakers in switching languages as they do.

Below are the kinds of contextual cues that play a role in the analysis of CB's and PQ's mixed DUs.

1. Hesitation Markers. We will recognize three types:
   a. Fillers,
   b. Stammers,
   c. Cut-offs.
2. Speech Acts. For present purposes, the same dichotomy used for analysis of PC speech suffice:
   a. On-topic, and
   b. Off-topic.

Of the off-topic acts embedded in the DU, overt requests for help are the most prominent. While hesitation markers may also function as implicit requests for help, they are often not reacted to with help by listeners. They are interpreted here as signs of trouble. We will see below that the speaker often solves her own trouble by switching languages.

As with the on-topic of the PC, on-topic DU clauses are confined to speech within the act of giving information on the topic. The request for help is a different act, one which gives a turn at speaking to another speaker, even though the DU is not finished (cf. Wald, 1978).

The following example illustrates all three hesitation markers followed by an off-topic switch to a request for help.

(3.23) PQ: I put some oil on the frying pan n then--and then uhm
¿cómo se se dice polvo - *polvito ese?*

Closest to the switch is the filler *uhm* (not identifiable for language); before that, a *stammer* (an immediate repetition of a word or series of words, lacking a syntactic relationship between successive recurrences as in reduplication: *very very good*). Finally, *uhm* marks a *cut-off* of the clause introduced by *and then*. The criterion used for recognizing cut-offs is that the clause immediately following a cut-off is not a grammatical continuation of the last clause of the preceding language. Thus, *and then* is not grammatically continued by the request for help.

After a sequence of turns involving the interviewer and CB, as well as PQ, PQ continues the DU:

(3.24) IV: Oh, they're like breadcrumbs.
PQ: ah? le pongo de eso (laughs) and then- and then I put
the shick- the chicken . . .

For purposes of analysis of the DU, PQ's first clause is not considered a switch, since it is not immediately preceded by a clause of the DU. Her switching behavior when following another speaker does not concern us here.

There is no cut-off of P's first Spanish clause, since the clause is complete. Her laugh is not included among the hesitation markers, which are restricted to fillers, stammers and cut-offs. Thus, the shift to English is *smooth*.

Within the DU, switches are further classified as:

1. Smooth, or
2. Hesitant.

They are *smooth* if not preceded by a hesitation marker, otherwise, they are *hesitant*.

The following example shows a cut-off within a DU sequence, resulting in a hesitant switch.

(3.25) PQ: . . . n then I went to the uh -*a velarlo* . . .

In (3.25) PQ edits out the last Noun Phrase (NP), *the X*, and replaces it with a Spanish infinitival phrase: *Prep (a) # Verb (vel-) + Infinitive (-ar) marker + Object marker (-lo)*. The English clause is not continued by the Spanish phrase, since the determiner *the* preceding the switch has a Spanish equivalent, and in no version of either language could a prepositional phrase follow a determiner directly. If the deteminer had not been uttered, e.g.,

(3.26)a . . . n then I went to *a velarlo* . . .

the switch would *still* be marked by hesitation, a *stammer* across languages, through the repetition of the preposition 'to.' However, either of the following two switches would have been counted as a smooth switch.

(3.26)b . . . n then I went *a velarlo*
(3.26)c . . . n then I went to *velarlo*

The following passage shows several smooth shifts within a DU:

(3.27) PQ: . . . he was the - the little one n *lo tenían chípilo*
n stuff. *Consentido.* He was the - the best of all
in the family . . .

This passage contains four shifts without hesitation marking. None of these shifts, however, imply great *syntactic* knowledge of both languages, according to Poplack (1978). They are restricted to switches at clause boundaries, for a tag, or for a single word. Poplack reports that the speakers of the Puerto Rican community in New York City display this kind of switching regardless of bilingual ability (by self-report), but that more intimate switching, e.g., of the type hypothetically represented in (3.26)b. or c. is a sign of greater ability in both languages (by correlation with self-report). In (3.26)b. the switch is in the Verb Phrase between the verb and its complement, a prepositional phrase. In (3.26)c. the switch is in the prepositional phrase itself, between the preposition and its object--and infinitival phrase.

In analyzing the DUs of the present group we will see that the switching behavior shows a *directional* bias in terms of whether it is smooth or marked by hesitation.

Table 3.11 Data on the Recipe DUs by CB and PQ in DI-2.

	CB		PQ	
	S	E	S	E
hesitant switch	0	1	0	1
smooth switch	2	0	1	0
cut-offs before switch	0	1	0	1
total complete clauses in DU	0	5	1	8

(S and E refer to the language switched *from*).

Deserving of special attention is the pattern of switching highlighted in Table 3.11. The data on these short recipe DUs suggest the outline of a pattern distinguishing the languages of hesitant and smooth switches. Hesitant switches are associated with switching from English to Spanish, as if the speaker had trouble in English and therefore switched to Spanish. Smooth switches are associated with the opposite direction, from Spanish to English, as if the speaker did not switch from Spanish to English until she was able to do so smoothly.

Admitedly, the data presented in Table 3.11 are sparse. However, the suggested pattern foreshadows the pattern found in the much richer extended mixed narratives by the same speakers. Table 3.12 below displays one such narrative by each speaker.

Table 3.12 Data on Narrative DUs by CB and PQ in DI-2.

	CB		PQ	
	S	E	S	E
hesitant switch	3	10	6	19
smooth switch	10	5	14	12
cut-off before switch	3	8	3	15
total complete clauses in DU	9	71	77	67

First, note that both speakers show more hesitation before switching from English to Spanish than in the reverse direction. This pattern is foreshadowed in the limited data on Table 3.11 above. We will call this pattern the pattern of Spanish dominance. Thus, both DUs exhibit Spanish dominance.

The notion of language dominance, that among certain bilinguals one language is known in some sense "better," or more extensively, than the other, with consequences for performance, suffers from the same unclarities as the concept of code-switching, discussed above.

Dominance according to the LPAIs consists of comparing the measures on independent samples of each language for an individual speaker. Spanish and English are measured separately and then the scores are compared. This procedure crucially depends on establishing that the measures across languages are comparable. Since these measures are based on core linguistic features of each language they will be discussed elsewhere.

Some measures of dominance have acknowledged sensitivity to situation, in terms of domain. For example, vocabulary tests comparing the number of objects found in the kitchen (home domain) in each language with the number of objects found in the classroom (school domain) have led some observers to conclude that some speakers are Spanish-dominant at home but English-dominant in school (cf. Fishman, 1976). Here the question of a global dominance is dismissed in favor of a notion of dominance sensitive to domain/situation. More recently, the question of dominance by domain has been challenged on the basis of the prevalence of code-switching in a variety of situations, according to naturalistic observations of a Puerto Rican community in Manhattan (Pedraza et al, 1980).

However, in the present study, the code-switching behavior shows a directional pattern according to hesitation phenomena. Language preference shows a clear bias toward a single language in situations approaching nature (i.e., in DI-1 and off-topic speech in the PC).

For the target population, as a whole, measures of dominance can be devised on a discourse basis, showing bias in language choice, either toward Spanish or English.

Adapting information from Table 3.12 above, Table 3.13 below shows the percentage of hesitant switches from Spanish to total hesitant switches, and smooth switches from Spanish to total smooth switches.

Table 3.13 Percentage of Spanish Hesitant to Total Hesitant and Spanish Smooth to Total Smooth for DUs by Two Speakers.

Percentage switches	PQ	CB
% $\frac{\text{Spanish hesitant}}{\text{total hesitant}}$	.24 (N=25)	.23 (N=13)
% $\frac{\text{Spanish smooth}}{\text{total smooth}}$	.54 (N=26)	.67 (N=15)

In Table 3.13 the rate of hesitant switches by language is foregrounded, since only hesitant switches are interpretable as motivated by difficulty in the language from which the speakers switched. CB and PQ show a similar rate. Where 0.50 would show equal hesitation in both languages, CB and PQ show more difficulty in English than in Spanish by a rate of over 3 to 1.

The rate of smooth switches is not so easily interpretable. As mentioned above, it is likely that the speakers, in the interest of getting their messages across as efficiently as possible, do not switch from Spanish to English until they are able to do so smoothly. There is also an interplay between attention paid to the topics they are developing in the DUs and the attention they are paying to the language (English) requested initially by the interviewer.

Another measure based on Table 3.12 compares the total complete clauses in each language. Complete clauses are those which are entirely in a single language. Thus, the following example contains no complete clauses.

(3.28) . . . he went to the uhm seguro. How do you say that? --wen/ uhm to the hospital. (PQ 12f 2/5)

The first clause is cut-off followed by a switch to Spanish. The second is an off-topic utterance, which is not counted in the DU. The third clause is incomplete, lacking a subject.

The percentage of Spanish complete clauses to total complete clauses is given below.

	CB	PQ
Percent Spanish complete	0.11	0.53
(N total complete)	(80)	(144)

The percentage shows that CB is attending to the use of English more than PQ. In addition, all of her Spanish cut-offs follow only one, or even a fraction of, a Spanish word:

(3.29) . . . I don't know. Ento-n then he- es que he- he- ¿cómo se dice? he- bebía mucha beer. . . . (CB 11f)

The first switch to Spanish, ento(nces), is cut in mid-word. The switches from Spanish to English are all smooth, those from English to Spanish marked by cut-offs (he-).

CB also used longer average English sequences than PQ. Here we define an English chain as a sequence of two or more complete English clauses in a row. CB's DU had 8 English chains and 1 Spanish chain.

PQ's DU had 14 English chains and 15 Spanish ones. Table 3.14 shows the average chain lengths for CB and PQ in both Spanish and English.

Table 3.14 Average Chain Lengths in Spanish and English of Narrative DUs of DI-2 for CB and PQ.

		CB	PQ
average chain length	E	8.5 (N=8)	3.9 (N=14)
	S	2.0 (N=1)	4.3 (N=15)

Finally, CB shows some smooth intrasentential shifts, whereas PQ shows smooth switches only between clauses and phrases, e.g., in the following example CB switches for more than one word inside a complex Noun Phrase:

(3.30) . . . ella es la más consentida que nosotros los más big ones . . .

The overall conclusion is that CB showed more English discourse ability than PQ. Although they had differed by 4 points in 1000 on the LAS English measures, CB consistently used both a greater percentage of English clauses and longer English chains than PQ.

It must be emphasized that the code-switching patterns of both speakers indicate Spanish dominance only in the differential rate of hesitant switches by language. Smooth switches do not indicate lack of ability in the language switched from. In PQ's case, it was evident that other switching patterns were developing apart from trouble in expressing the same thing in both languages. Thus, for example, three of her four English requests (for help) followed an utterance in Spanish, while all her Spanish requests followed an utterance in English. The language of the request varied between how do you say and *cómo se dice*, but the help needed was *always* for English. This alternation suggests a strategy of switching to signal a change in topicality, to an off-topic act. This is a functional use of both languages together, not a substitute on the basis of ability.

It was mentioned above with respect to a comparison of AA's and RM's behavior in DI-2, that RM's *switching* corresponded to greater discourse ability in English than AA's *maintenance* of English. This differential is also seen in the third member of CB's group, RR.

The third member of the group, RR, produced only one DU in English. It was short. She never switched or overtly requested help, but was still helped so much by the other two that her DU has some appearance of a group effort.

```
(3.31)  RR:  By m- my mom said that when- when I was little I
             would- I- I was- I want to  u:  -
        PQ:  only wash the dishes
        ______________________________________________________
        RR:  only wash the dishes, and then my mom said when you
             grow bigger you not gon' to  u:  uhm
            [wa-      to-      to like to-  [ wash
        CB: [to like   to[like              [
        PQ:              [to-               [to wash
        ______________________________________________________
        RR: [the[dishes
        CB: [ di-
        PQ:     [dish
```

Our impression is that CB and PQ judge her not to be competent enough in English to speak without support.

The English core linguistic abilities of these three speakers will be discussed in the next chapter.

The help-pattern offered by PQ and CB is reminiscent of AA's "speaking for" PA (section 3.5.1(1), example 3.13 above). This pattern may be quite general among Mexican-American children. Carrasco *et al* (1981) note that in a classroom context a Mexican-American teacher was much more tolerant of such turn-taking violations for assistance than an Anglo teacher dealing with the same children, as if to imply that such interaction is more acceptable in Mexican-American culture in classroom contexts.

(3) Age of Arrival 0-5. The only Spanish-preferent speaker in this category was OM. Since his group contained all Spanish-preferent speakers (CR, discussed above, and OS, with behavior similar to CB and PQ's), his behavior can be shown to be an accommodation to the language choice of the other speakers. OM's English discourse and core linguistic abilities will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.4.2 English-Preferent Speakers. As noted above, English-preferent speakers were found only at AOAs below 8, and at an LOR of 5+ years.

(1) Age of Arrival 6-8. There were only two English-preferent speakers in the AOA 6-8 group, as compared with five Spanish-preferent speakers.

AL 12f. Below are displayed the essential social data for the three speakers in this group:

	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	LAS-E	LAS-S	HLS
*AL	12 f	7	5	2	4	SE
HF	12 f	5	7	4	5	SE
VM	12 f	5	17	5	5	S

(* target)

A comparison of DI-1 and DI-2 shows total success in switching her language choice:

	DI-1			DI-2		
	S	E	M	S	E	M
AL	0	9	2	9	0	0
VM	0	10	1	0	0	0
HF	0	6	0	absent		

As DI-1 indicates, all speakers in the session showed English preference. However, some code-switching was already evident in AL's speech. Although, as will be shown later in further detail, AL generally had a highly developed English grammar and was able to maintain the language, there were still some cases in which switching to Spanish followed evident difficulty in English:

(3.32) AL: It has like seats. Do you know Spanish?
IV: sí
AL: there's una silla así, y como sillas de fierro . . .
no, sí, para de que se usan en de- para backyard.

In this segment from AL's house description, it is evident that the switch to Spanish is precipitated by a difficulty in English.

(3.33) This friend of the boyfriend's girl . . . el friend del
novio de la muchacha . . .

In this movie description AL has trouble connecting the possessive relationships to the three characters in English. She switches to Spanish to solve the problem. It is evident that she wanted to say the girl's boyfriend's friend (or the friend of the girl's boyfriend), which requires complex left embedding in English but has a simple right branching form in Spanish; the friend of the boyfriend of the girl.

In one case, the switch, following an English cut-off, is evidently precipitated by a momentary competition for the floor, as if on the conversational level she felt more able in Spanish than in English to challenge VM's turn.

(3.34) VM: . . . she had barely got something que le había
regalado. She had it in there [n-- n-- cuando
AL: [she hit - le pegó al
VM: [cuando sh- she wanted to get out . . .
AL: [al muchacho.

VM kept the floor, but AL's switch appears to have affected VM's language choice as well, so that she switched to Spanish in overlap with the incoming stimulus of AL's Spanish.

In a few cases AL's switches were smooth without any sign of trouble in English, but simply as if her Spanish were just beneath the surface of her English.

(3.35) the first cholo in the whole wide world is the zoot-suit
pero é(l)- he was- he wasn't those kind of cholos there is
right now.

Despite these momentary code-switches, AL showed a distinct preference for English both in DI-1 and the PC. Her teacher reported that she uses both Spanish and English among her classmates, but could not be specific on her pattern with her closest friends in school, or report on whether she code-switches intrasententially.

Our conclusion is that there is a strong bias toward English among her peers, all of whom can speak Spanish as well. However, her bias seems less than her peers, who are also habitual friends, and she more readily switched to Spanish in DI-2. She was the one speaker who decided to mix in on-topic speech of the PC, to the disapproval of VM. Her core linguistic competence in both English and Spanish will be discussed in the next chapter.

We conclude by noting that she shows only slightly less sensitivity to the separation of language by situation than her peers.

CS 10m. CS is an especially interesting case in the self-suppression of Spanish, only hinted at in AL's behavior above.

In both DI-1 and DI-2, CS produced no Spanish or mixed DUs. His group, which consisted of habitual peers, all showed English-preference in both sessions--and the exclusive use of English in the PC. Only CS performed on-topic in the PC, and then only in English.

Below is a representation of the characteristics of the group and a display of their language choice in a conflation of both DIs.

	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	LAS-E	LAS-S	HLS
CS	11 m	6	5	3	5	S
*JF	10 m	0	10	3	5	S
JB	11 m	4	7	5	5	SE

DI-1 & 2

	S	E	M
CS	0	21	0
JF	1	9	0
JB	2	9	5

Although both CS and JF showed avoidance of Spanish (and JB showed more mixed DUs than Spanish ones), CS is most extreme in this behavior.

(3.36) IV: (to CR) ¿Cuántos amigos tienes afuera de l' escuela, C?
JB: Mm, dos docenas.
JF: Dos (laughs)
CR: Two
IV: ¿Nomás dos? (laughs) ¿Es todo, eh?
CR: Or three. Yeah, three.
IV: ¿Son Chicanos o qué?
CR: No, they're Americans.
IV: They're Americans, eh. ¿Te gustan los Americanos?
CR: Yeah.

It is quite clear that CR understands Spanish, but he consistently answers in English. His behavior is the reverse of SO's usual behavior in answering English with Spanish (cf. above section 3.4.1(1)). However, unlike a reverse of SO, there were points in which Spanish protruded, even though not extensively enough to mix any of his DUs.

(3.37) My brother, when we ate - we ate arroz, not arroz pero yk-can, like, yk like, well, soup, not with-not dried, not arroz dried . . . . yk that gots like water, something like that . . . then he had the pancake.

The few passages like this, from a recipe DU, especially in the momentary failure to suppress pero with but indicated that CS could not only understand Spanish, but speak it as well.

In order to maximize conditions to obtain Spanish DUs from CS, he was later put in a session with two totally non-English speaking classmates. Since these peers were not of his own choosing, this session does not count as part of the regular paradigm.

The peers were:

	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	HLS
AM	11 m	11	6 mo.	S
LQ	12 m	12	3 mo.	S

(They had not been tested by LPAI at that point.)

CS spoke Spanish easily to the peers. However, his English-preference still surfaced in some instances when addressing the interviewer.

(3.38) IV: ¿Y tu nunca has fumado cigarros? ¿No?
CS: Only a little bit when my grandma tells me to light it up or-
IV: ¿para ella?
CS: Yeah.

The inability of the other speakers to understand English resulted at times in requests to the interviewer to repeat what CS had said in Spanish, as if they were aware of CS's personal preference for English. However, CS came to accommodate to them, and in all produced nine lengthy Spanish DUs. The following example shows a switch, as if remembering that Spanish was wanted.

(3.39) have you seen that little thing that instead of- pa- para que no fumen no más lo agarras y te lo comes?

This session demonstrated that CS had well developed ability in Spanish on the discourse and core linguistic levels.

He is the first speaker so far discussed who evidenced the principle: Don't speak Spanish unless necessary, where necessary, in his case, means--in order to be understood by all other participants to the conversation.

The avoidance of Spanish when possible is evident in a number of the AOA 0-5 English-preference speakers. This extreme sensitivity of language to situation has been further noted among some Native American groups. Thus, Alpher (1980) reports on difficulties in testing some Sioux students for ability in their first language due to their reticence to use the language outside of restricted social contexts.

(2) Age of Arrival 0-5. The AOA 0-5 group was large, and with one exception noted above, was English-preferent.

In all, DI-2 revealed a great variety of behaviors ranging from those who could not speak Spanish at all (all born in the U.S.) to those who spoke both willingly and ably.

In order to discuss these speakers in greater detail, Table 3.10 below is further broken down to reveal the difference in patterns in DI-2 between those who produced three or more Spanish DUs from those who did not.

(*The four speakers reported as No Spanish on the HLS have been removed from this display, along with the total of 2 DUs which contributed to DI-2 in Table 3.10.)

	No. of Speakers	DI-2		
		S	E	M
Produced 3+ Spanish DUs	7	53	8	1
Produced less than 3	9*	5	21	16
Total	16	58	29*	17

The resulting breakdown shows that most of the Spanish DUs in DI-2 were produced by seven speakers, and most of the English and mixed DUs were produced by nine distinct speakers, who produced two or less Spanish DUs each.

First, it is noted that those who display the greatest discourse ability in Spanish produce very few mixed DUs. Altering the situation from DI-1 to DI-2 was sufficient to elicit extensive discourse ability in Spanish. The resultant behavior showed a strict separation of languages on the discourse level (i.e., no English clauses).

The other nine speakers show the sensitivity of their language choice to the change in situation of increasing primarilly the number of mixed DUs. Their language-preference remained English, if mixed DUs are discounted. In that case, they are the mirror image of the AOA 9+ Spanish-preferent group (ref. Table 3.10 English 13-Spanish-37).

In the case of the Spanish-preferent group, there is evidence already discussed, and more to come, that indicates that avoidance of English is based on the nature of their English. This reflects on their English abilities. SO highlighted a possible underlying social constraint based on fear of ridicule. Other speakers showed their limitations more directly. On the other hand, the AOA 6-8 English-preferent speakers have shown relatively great discourse ability in English without limitations in discourse ability in Spanish. In this case, the situational constraints on Spanish are extensive without implying lack of discourse abilities. Thus, there are two polar choices for language-preference in DI-2:

1. Lack of extensive discourse ability in L.
2. Extensive social constraints on choice of L.

The two choices are not mutually exclusive, but may occur independently of each other. In the case of CR, e.g., Choice 1 is evident in the absence of Choice 2 for English. In the case of CS, Choice 2 occurs without Choice 1 for Spanish.

For the AOA 0-5 English-preferent speakers, the choice is not as clear until the core linguistics level is analyzed. However, the mixing and switching phenomena can be compared with that found in other speakers. Two speakers give especially abundant data. They are considered below:

	Age-Sex	AOA	LOR	LP-E	LP-S	HLS
JR	12 m	0	12	BINL-F	--	SE
JB	11 m	4	7	LAS-3	LAS-5	S

Both speakers were in groups in which Spanish was understood. However, in JR's group, one speaker, RM (section 3.4.1(1) above), was also Spanish-preferent. All others were English-preferent. JB's group included CS (section 3.4.2(1) above).

JR 12 m. The DU behavior of all participants in his group in DI-2 are given below.

DI-2

	S	E	M
JR 12 m	1	2	7
RM 13 m	3	0	0
MG 12 m*	3	0	0

(*MG replaced AP for this session, AOA 0, LOR 12, BINL-E P, HLS SE.)

While his peers did not mix DUs, but kept them in Spanish, JR showed extreme mixing and switching behavior. Unlike RM, who, as mentioned above (section 3.4.1(1)) would start DUs in English and switch to Spanish after one clause, JR frequently mixed from both directions, and in either direction often maintained the initial language for two or more clauses.

(3.40) Yeah they're something like that but they- they're like Vanns (brand of sportshoe) but no tienen eso azul, y 'it, man, están muy bonitos . . .

The above passage shows a turn-initial switch from English to Spanish, and only smooth switches throughout.

(3.41) Nos tiene coraje X (= a teacher) Man, X hates us, man. I hate X too . . . I hate m all around. Me cae bien gordo, man. I- man, yo no me gustaría . . .

The above passage shows a one clause turn-initial shift from Spanish to English. As in (3.4.1) above, only smooth switches occur.

In one of JR's lengthiest DUs, he began with a clause chain of 22 clauses in Spanish before switching to English for the remaining 8 clauses.

(3.42) . . . y nos subimos arriba y sabes de esas campanas, we - tied it up n we ran . . .

Characteristically, JR's switches are smooth in both directions indicating no dominance pattern.

An analysis of JR's four longest DUs, ten or more lines, shows the average chain length in English and Spanish, and the percentage of complete clauses in both languages out of total complete clauses.

	Spanish	English	Total N
Average Chain Length	5.0	6.4	6S/5E
Percentage of Complete Clauses	0.46	0.53	71

The lack of hesitant switches and the extensive Spanish clause chains do not indicate lack of ability in Spanish as the cause of his mixing behavior. Most likely there is a social basis for it, considering the interviewer's request for Spanish, along with the ability of his peers to understand English and his own English-preference (demonstrated in DI-1). His core linguistic abilities in Spanish and English will be discussed elsewhere.

JB 11 m.

DI-2

	S	E	M
JB	2	3	5
JF	1	6	0
CS	0	11	0

In contrast to JR, JB showed difficulty in English as a reason for many switches.

(3.43) . . . n then the window got broke n - este ¿cómo se dice? el este-

He was most explicit about this in the recipe.

(3.44) First, I put uh- en español lo digo porque no se decirlo en inglés . . . Primero yo pongo casuela, y luego . . .

JB follows the same pattern as RM, beginning in English and switching to Spanish. The switches tend to be hesitant. However, unlike RM, he often maintained English over a number of clauses and produced some exclusively English DUs (as in DI-1).

Particularly interesting is JB's switch to Spanish on the conversational level, in the following segment, when his right to the floor was threatened by the other speakers.

(3.45) IV: Hey, JB, do you know how to drive?
JB: No way!
(but) . . .
JF: I have. I've had [-I've had to drive a car.
JB: [Yeah, I have
CS: So [have I.
JB: [Me too. Yeah. [I- my dad's.
JF: [Yeah I-
CS: My uncle's.
JF: una- Yeah, my uncle's and my dad's.
JB: I- I always t- ah mi papá siempre me
[dije va aprender el carro . . .
JF: [When my uncle --

Despite the overwhelmingly English nature of the peer interaction, JB shows a cut-off of English in his switch to Spanish as he launches his narrative on driving (I always t- ah mi papá siempre me dije . . .).

JB's language preference for English is evidently conditioned by the same preference among his peers. However, his mixing pattern is that of a Spanish-preferent speaker.

JB represents a transitional case between Spanish-preferent and English-preferent speakers. His AOA (4) and LOR (7) are typical of English-preferent speakers. However, his discourse ability in English is less than secure. In the next chapter it will be seen that compared to the other AOA 0-5 speakers his English core linguistic abilities are also underdeveloped.

3.5 Conclusions About Language Choice

The sample, as a whole, displays a wide range of behavior, both in the choice of peers for inclusion in the discourse interviews, and in the discourse abilities the speakers exhibit. On the whole, language choice, when not explicitly controlled, is influenced both by the language abilities and the composition of the peer group. With regard to English, a majority of the speakers show a relationship between language choice and linguistic ability on the discourse level. With regard to Spanish, however, the relation of choice to ability is not as clear.

Those speakers who display the least ability in English maintain English with great effort marked by slow tempo and hesitation, or by limiting themselves to minimal English utterances of one clause or less. Those with greater ability switch to Spanish when trouble arises in English, in view of the Spanish-understanding abilities of their interlocutors. They may switch back to English when able to do so smoothly. Those (among the sample) with the greatest ability in English maintain English at a faster tempo and without as frequent hesitation. They may even switch smooth to English in Spanish discourse, given the English-understanding of their interlocutors, without this being a sign of problems in speaking Spanish.

The phenomenon of mixing or code-switching cannot be invariably attributed to differential language abilities in both languages. The nature of the kind of switching must be taken into account. Smooth and hesitant switches must be distinguished.

By the same token, the strict maintenance of separate languages cannot per se be taken as a sign of relatively great linguistic ability in either language. On the one hand, some speakers may separate languages (do not code-switch) because of great facility in both languages. On the other hand, some speakers maintain one of the languages (i.e., do not code-switch) only through painstaking effort, for which the underlying cause is evidently limitations of ability in that language. Hesitant code-switchers indicate abilities in L_2 which are greater than those of speakers who sustain L_2, but only with great effort and frequent hesitation.

In order to determine the relationship of discourse ability to core linguistic abilities, to further elucidate the differential effects of social context and language abilities on discourse and conversational behavior as exhibited in this chapter, the next chapter directly analyzes core linguistic abilities in English, with reference to Spanish where enlightening.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS OF CORE LINGUISTIC ABILITIES

This chapter discusses the core linguistic (or grammatical) abilities of the speakers in this study. As mentioned in the first chapter, the analysis of core linguistic features departs from the tradition of error analysis based on contrast with standard (written) English, prominent in most educational and developmental studies of second language speakers of English. Although the relevance to standard English, the language of the educational system, will be made explicit, the primary purpose of this chapter is to identify the _target varieties_ and _sources_ of the English systems used by the speakers. These concepts are discussed below.

4.0 Sociolinguistic Concepts

Targets. In the rest of this report the term _targets_ is used to refer to the varieties of language that a speaker uses as a model for his/her own language. There are various possible targets for each speaker, as evidenced by the variety of language behaviors found among the peers.

A priori the targets may be the language of peers, parents, teachers, any and all combinations. They may be separated into distinct systems or they may be composited into a single system. So far it is clear that Spanish and English are separable into distinct systems for all the speakers studied. Each speaker produced DUs in one exclusive language at least, most in both.

Within English, various _norms_ are found in all core linguistic components--phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon. Linguistic norms are here defined as features which recur _within_ the speech of the same speaker and across various speakers. Many examples will be discussed in this chapter. The more general a particular norm is among the sample population, the less problematic the target is. It is everybody's target, or more specifically the target of the entire sample, and by extension the population it represents, whether specifically Mexican-Americans of the late preadolescent age group of lower than middle SES in the Los Angeles area, or a more general community including this one.

Where the norms have a more restricted distribution within the sample, the strategy of analysis begins with distinguishing the behavior of AOA groups. The AOA status has already been seen to have a discriminant effect on language choice for the majority of the speakers.

The linguistic norms analyzed are taken from the peer sessions. In a few instances, some of the data from the LPI are also discussed. These data will be identified as such. For the most part, the data of the LPI will be discussed in the next chapter, where they are compared with the data discussed in this chapter.

The data discussed in this chapter, as conversational interaction involving peers, have been shown to derive from behavior approximating natural behavior (section 3.2). As such, it invites comparison with data and analyses from other studies of natural or spontaneous speech. In particular, the comparison involves the issue of the sources of the linguistic norms and the systematic relationship of the norms to each other.

Sources. Sources are identifiable language varieties that may contribute linguistic norms to the systems used by a speaker. The following identifications are of concerns.

Standard English (SE). This is the language of the school, and, according to various sociolinguistic studies, the set of norms which are more likely to be produced by middle class populations than by lower than middle SES populations (cf. Labov, 1972; Shuy et al, 1967; Wolfram & Fasold, 1974; Trudgill, 1974). They are distinct from non-standard English norms only for specific features.

Non-Standard English (NSE). In principle, this includes all norms which conflict with the standard. Many examples discussed later are well-known across various monolingual English communities. They represent the continuation of an English-speaking tradition that is relatively unaffected by the imposition of or changes in the standard.

Others are specific to particular areas and/or ethnic groups. They represent innovations that have not affected the standard or other communities.

All NSE norms can be further classified as stable or unstable. Stable norms are norms which are known to be maintained by individuals, and transmitted to succeeding generations. Unstable norms are those which may change within the individual and/or are unlikely to survive the individual speaker. Of particular concern are instabilities caused by developmental factors both within first and second language.

The age group 10-12 has not been a focus of much study before now. Although it lies at a critical point between the more studied younger children and adolescents, for various reasons, attention has not focused on this group. Consequently, we know little about the speech behavior of even monolingual English speakers at this age, beyond what we expect from younger children.

Within second language developmental studies, the problem is compounded by comparison with development of the first language. A particular issue involves transference of norms from the first language to the second *versus* the adoption of other, perhaps universal, strategies for developing a linguistic system from exposure to the second language alone. This will be elaborated later for specific features.

The following possible sources are further distinguished within NSE.

1. Community Norms (C-norms). Those varieties of English widely spoken in the community by fluent speakers, whether monolingual or bilingual. They are stable.
2. Transfer Norms (T-norms). Norms directly transferred from one language to another by individual bilinguals. They do not have a stable social basis.
3. Developmental Norms (D-norms). Norms which may characterize the language at a certain stage of development because of age-group or AOA, but are not general to more mature age-groups. They are not mature C-norms, and they are unstable, i.e., they are expected to change.

Distinguishing these types of norms is crucial to evaluating the source of a speaker's language, and to judging whether or not the speaker is fluent or limited in English.

4.0.1 Core Linguistic Components

In the following discussion of core linguistic components, morphology and syntax will be the focus of attention. These are the two components of language which figure most prominently in LPAI tests, and the measures derived from them.

For convenience, these core linguistic components are redefined here (see chapter 1):

1. Morphology: The processes of word formation; particularly, for English, the most frequently used inflectional suffixes.
2. Syntax: The processes of sentence formation; the organization of words into sentences and intermediate units, i.e., clauses and phrases.

Of the two, morphology has been larger and more precisely studied in the literature. The morphological processes that will be of concern are generally established to be well developed among monolinguals for this age group, where they are C-norms for those monolinguals. Furthermore, there is little possibility for transfer from Spanish to English, except at the most abstract level. Suffixation of morphemes to nouns and verbs is a property of both languages. However, the shape of the suffixes and their uses differ. For the plural of nouns, the two languages are most similar, e.g., Spanish zapato +s/English tomato +(e)s. Spanish, however, does not have a possessive inflection for nouns. In both languages verbs are inflected for person and/or tense. Person inflections are used in all tenses in Spanish, but are much more restricted in English. Tense inflection is quite different in form in Spanish and English. Only in Spanish is it conditioned by subject-verb agreement as well (except minimally for the past of be in English).

Syntax shows a great deal of similarity between Spanish and English. Consequently, the possibilities for transfer are greater. In many cases, however, multiple sources are available for syntactic features, i.e., C-norms, D-norms and T-norms are all available as sources. It will be most notable that although most well-known syntactic structures are found in the speech of at least some speakers, the organization of these structures in discourse is often different from that of the standard language, or what might be expected of more mature speakers. These may indicate a developmental level (D-norm), rather than a more general mature community norm (C-norm).

The following analyses are addressed to two primary questions:

1. Is the norm general to the sample? (What is the nature of the English spoken in the community?)
2. If not, what are its probable sources? (Is it a fair indicator of limited English ability or not?)

4.1 Sample

In the analysis of spontaneous speech it is possible to extend the sample past the core sample discussed in the last chapter, to include other speakers who did not undergo the entire paradigm but participated in one or more peer sessions. This builds up the data for any one AOA group and allows a further distinction between AOA 0 and AOA 4-5, until now combined into AOA 0-5. The sample discussed below has the following dimensions.

Table 4.1 Sample for Core Linguistic Analyses.

AOA	No. of Speakers
0	21
4-5	9
6-8	7
9+	7
Total	44

This is of help in determining the behavior of the group in general, where the data of particular speakers are rare for a particular norm.

4.2 Analysis

Once it is established that a feature is found for a particular speaker, it can be examined for generality in the sample for the particular speaker. It establishes a possible context, in which that feature may occur, whether or not it actually does on any particular occasion. This leads to variable analysis, for which the major question is: Out of all possible contexts, how many times did the feature actually occur? This is a highly developed procedure in sociolinguistics, and has been extended to developmental psycholinguistics as well (Brown, 1973).

Recognition of possible context is relatively straightforward in morphology, e.g.,

(4.1) My mom likes to speak Spanish and
my dad like_ to speak English.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

BM varies between use and non-use of subject-verb agreement for third singular (3s) subjects. In order to investigate her system more fully, it is necessary to know whether subj-V agreement is extended to other persons as well, e.g., 2s, 3pl subjects.

(4.2) It hasn't come out yet. It hasn't came
in on ON.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

DM varies between an unmodified and modified form of the verb, where SE has a participial form, in this case unmodified. In further understanding his system it is necessary to know whether he distinguishes participial from other forms of the verb, in which contexts; and if not, does this represent an alternation between unmodified and modified forms for the past, e.g., does he also say I have eat and I have ate?

In some cases, self-monitoring of speech is evident in self-corrections (repairs) made on morphological features. When a repair is used, only the repaired form is counted. The repair indicates that the speaker is aware of the repaired norm and considers it appropriate to the occasion, e.g.:

(4.3) I sawed - I saw right here Dodgers
(BR 12M109FXSS)

BR shows awareness of the SE norm for past formation of see, but not of adverb placement. In comparison with other speakers, saw is clearly the C-norm, rather than sawed. On the other hand, non-SE adverb placement is more generally found in the sample, e.g.,

(4.4) I keep still hearing about it.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

Now note:

(4.5) All the Friday he- give us - he would -
he would give us five dollars.
(CB 11F20625SS)

CB corrects to one of the two forms used for marking past habitual events (useta is the other). In supplying an appropriate auxiliary, she is using the same behavior found among earlier AOA speakers. In this case, CB saves the analyst from the problem of determining whether what was formerly lacking is an auxiliary or a past inflection (cf. Wolfram et al., 1979). The repair is useful in alerting the analyst to the problem of which possible context is a possible source of difficulty to her.

The problem of possible context is much more prominent in syntax. Speakers usually have a variety of syntactic options in connecting clauses, or so it seems out of further discourse context. In general, structures recur more rarely in syntax than in morphology. The absence of a particular structure on a particular occasion is not necessarily an indication that the structure has not developed. To anticipate later discussion, for the sake of illustration, note the following:

(4.6) There's one that lives in my street too.
(CS 11M10635SS)

CS joins the two clauses by the process of relativization.

(4.7) There's some guy, he has Nikes . . .
(JR 12100FXSE)

In a similar context JR does not syntactically conjoin the clauses. Does this mean JR has not developed relativization? The answer will turn out to be that it does not mean that. Does it mean then that JR has not developed relativization in this context? This will be further discussed in the section on relativization.

4.3 Morphology

Morphology has been much attended to in studies of both first and second language acquisition. Especially in L_2 acquisition, the notion of a natural order of acquisition, apart from language background, and mirroring the order of acquisition by monolinguals, is widespread and documented in many studies (cf. article in Hatch, 1978; Krashen & Scarcella, 1980). This notion is particularly attractive to the evaluation of stage of development of L_2, since, if acquisition of one feature implies acquisition of another, that one feature alone can be taken as evidence of a stage of development at which the other features have already been acquired. This would simplify diagnosis of stage of development by reducing the total number of features examined before reaching a conclusion. Although this is an ideal, the evidence is not totally conclusive. One article discussing a number of studies shows that for a group of Spanish and non-Spanish speaking adults in a New York City ESL program, the order of acquisition was much more regular for the Spanish speaking group than for the non-Spanish speaking (Bailey _et_ _al_., 1978: Fig. 23-1, p. 366). Another comparison of four different Spanish-speaking groups in the same article, shows a great difference in the _rate_ of acquisition among the groups, although relatively minor differences in the order. All groups were in the 5-8 age range, but the East Harlem group showed the least development. The authors speculate that this reflects a Black English source dialect (_ibid_, p. 367), since many of the features tested are known to be non-occurent or of low probability in the vernacular of the neighboring and overlapping Black community. Thus, neither language background nor the influence of neighboring communities can be dismissed out of hand in studying the acquisition of morphology (let alone any other core linguistic component).

For the present sample, detailed analysis will be restricted to two specific morphological paradigms:

1. Subject-verb agreement, and
2. Tense morphology.

These are both relatively advanced paradigms according to natural order studies, and relevant to the behavior exhibited by some of the speakers.

4.3.1 Subject-Verb Agreement

For convenience, S-V agreement will be referred to simply as 3S. In all cases but one it refers to the process found in SE, and most dialects, of marking a present tense verb with the morpheme -s, if and only if the subject of the verb is a third person singular (3s). Agreement with the copula is distinct, since the copula has three forms in the present tense according to person--am, is, are--and is the only verb with agreement possible in the past--was, were. Consideration of agreement in the past intersects with development of the past tense as a grammatical category.

Furthermore, certain verbs are irregular. Their forms are modified when they submit to 3S marking. The most common irregular verbs in this respect are have, do, and say. The verb do is further irregular in the negative form don't with a modified vowel. Consideration of this form intersects with consideration of negation.

Two distinct processes are thus involved in 3S:

1. 3S-marking (applies to all verbs except the copula), and
2. Verb modification (applies only to irregular verbs).

Negation and the past form of be will be considered separately. These processes will now be considered by AOA group.

AOA 0. For this group, 3S-marking is virtually always used. There is no variation. It follows that the 3S C-norm for these communities is not distinct from the SE norms for this age group, regardless of whether the speaker is monolingual or bilingual. Thus, 3S-marking is not only an SE norm, but also a community norm.

With respect to verb modification, there are only extremely rare instances of regularizing irregular verbs. Only two cases were noted without repair. Both were from bilingual females for whom only Spanish was reported as the home language. The cases are too rare to conclude anything but that irregular verb modification is used in the community in the same way as in SE.

AOA 4-5. Of the nine speakers in this group, only one showed variation in 3S-marking. This speaker is JB. In the previous chapter it was shown that JB is an English-preferent speaker with an exhibited limited discourse ability in English. He frequently produced hesitant switches to Spanish in his discourse behavior.

JB's rate of 3S marking was 67% (8/12 possible contexts). The 3S marking applied only to verbs in 3S contexts.

A characteristic passage is:

(4.8) he always say_ hi, or if the girl
tell_ him, that means he liked m-
he likes her.

There was no extension of the process to other persons. However, JB was the only speaker in the entire sample who was observed extending 3S to the main verb in negation. This pattern, called the hyper-3S pattern, is exemplified below, in this case with a repair.

(4.9) Maybe it doesn't works - it doesn't work_.
(JB 11M10435SS)

A similar pattern for the past tense among speakers, and its possible Spanish source, are discussed in section 4.4.2 (1b).

JB's variable pattern of 3S-marking applies to both regular and irregular verbs. The irregular verbs (i.e., have) showed the C-(and SE) norm for modification when marked by 3S, i.e., has.

With respect to this feature, JB gives evidence of limited core linguistic ability, when normed against the AOA 0 group. He is the first speaker encountered so far who shows a relationship between limited core linguistic and limited discourse abilities.

JB's behavior is more characteristic of the AOA 6-8 group, which also exhibits the same relationship between discourse abilities and 3S marking.

AOA 6-8. Of the seven speakers in this group, five showed variation in 3S marking. The rest showed the community and standard pattern.

The five speakers who showed variation were exactly the same speakers who showed Spanish-preference in the previous chapter. The other two showed English preference. Table 4.2 below shows the speakers and their rates of 3S markings.

Table 4.2 Rate of 3S-Marking for AOA 6-8 Speakers.

Speaker	3S Rate	Total N	Language-Preference in DI-1
CS 11 m	1.00	30+	E
AL 12 f	1.00	30+	E
CB 11 f	0.41	17	S
PQ 12 f	0.52	21	S
RR 11 f	0.67	6	S
AR 12 m	0.85	27	S
OS 12 m	0.50	4	S

As with JB above, all speakers showing variation in this group showed variation only in 3S contexts. They did not extend 3S marking to other contexts. In addition, when they used 3S marking with irregular verbs, they modified the verb according to the community and standard norm.

AOA 9+. Of the seven speakers in this group, only five spoke in English at all in peer sessions. We will consider the other two speakers in the next chapter, in discussing the results of the LPI. Of the remaining five speakers, the data on two are too rare to concern us further.

The rates of the remaining three speakers are displayed below.

Speaker	3S Rate	Total N
CR 12 m	0.61	23
RM 13 m	0.67	6
AA 12 m	0.38	8

Note that the lowest rate is for AA, the speaker who was most reluctant of the three to produce English. AA's data consists only of regular verbs. No irregular verbs were produced in his limited production of English.

CR gave ample evidence of patterning like the AOA 6-8 group, restricting 3S marking to 3S contexts and using irregular verbs as would the other groups.

However, RM shows a different systematic use of the have-has alternation. Of those instances of has, only one was in a 3S context. The display below shows that the distribution of the two forms appears to be determined by the number rather than the person of the subject.

	Subject	
	singular	plural
have	0	3
has	3	1

Thus, I and you induce has forms.

Possibly, RM's system is based on his was/were pattern, which deviates from the SE pattern only for the second singular. RM's was/were pattern is not well supported in the data. Therefore, the source of his has pattern remains problematic.

In any event, RM's system is less developed than CR's in the direction of community and SE norms. This is only evident by analyzing his system for the irregular verb have. If only the 3S rate is considered, RM would seem more advanced than a speaker like JB, who uses have in 3S contexts, but never has in other contexts.

None of the studies on L_2 acquisition report this precaution. A speaker might generalize 3S to all verbs or to all singulars, and appear to behave in a standard way according to those studies. The case of RM is the first example of the difference between error analysis as it has evolved in L_2 studies, and the study of developing systems.

The evidence so far indicates that full development of 3S marking takes about five years for AOA 6+. Within that AOA range there is no particular evidence that AOA more closely relates to rate of acquisition.

The evidence suggests that 3S marking develops at the same rate for regular and irregular verbs. For regular verbs, there is no evidence for overextension (hyper-development) to persons other than 3S, even when it is in a highly variable stage. (The lowest stage of development in the data are CB at a 41% rate, and AA at 38%.) However, the absence of overextension may be due to the relatively high rate of development and LORs of the speakers.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that irregular verbs may be analyzed differently at a relatively early stage of development (the case of RM), as number agreement rather than 3S agreement.

4.3.1 (1) SV agreement with was/were

Agreement with was/were was separated from the study of general 3S-marking for several reasons. For one, it applies to 1S as well as 3S in SE. Even more importantly, in many monolingual dialects of English lack of agreement is general, the usual verb form being was (cf. Wolfram & Fasold, 1974; Wolfram et al., 1979).

In our sample the standard pattern was most common, for most speakers for whom there is sufficient data, including the AOA 9+ group. In looking at this pattern, the existential structure, e.g., there was a lotta people, was excluded, since this is most likely to lack SV agreement (cf. Wolfram et al., 1979). Elsewhere, only three speakers showed lack of agreement on any occasion. Two of these speakers were from the AOA 0 group, one from the AOA 6-8 group (CS, one of the two English-preferent speakers with a totally standard pattern of 3S-marking). All these speakers varied between was and were only for contexts in which were is standard, e.g.:

(4.10) some girls that was with A n the girls
(JP 12M100EXEE)

JP is a monolingual English speaker.

The other AOA 0 speaker who used was without standard agreement also showed repair on one occasion, all the more impressive because it involved the existential structure:

(4.11) there was - there - there were these people livin in a big house

(OM 10M10055SE)

The use of was for were seems to be rare for this age group in these communities. As OM's repair suggests, it may be more commonly used in even less formal contexts, but we have no evidence of this. If it is, the speakers are showing a general awareness of the standard norm and suppressing the non-standard one.

At any rate, the examples, both in their rarity and in comparison to 3S-marking, show that use of was without agreement is not a sign of lack of ability in English, but rather it is a non-standard dialect form found among monolingual as well as bilingual speakers.

4.3.1 (2) SV agreement with don't/doesn't

The use of don't without SV agreement is another well-known non-standard English form, and most likely is even more widespread among monolingual dialects than was without SV agreement. Below, the data by AOA group shows use of don't in 3S contexts:

Table 4.3 Use of don't in 3S Contexts by AOA Group.

AOA	Number of Speakers	Percentage don't 3S	Total N Possible Context
0	10	0.55	22
4-5	5	0.11	18
6-8	5	0.30	11
9+	1	0.00	2

The data show no trend toward increased non-standard don't with increased AOA. If anything, the reverse seems to be the case, as if lack of SV agreement with don't is a more advanced feature, according to the AOA 0 norm.

It may be that the AOA 4-5 group is more sensitive to the conflict between the standard and non-standard norms than the AOA 0 group. There is very little data from AOA 9+; therefore, nothing can be concluded for this group. Some studies have proposed that in the acquisition of standard negation, speakers go through a stage in which _don't_ is the general verb negator, later replaced by standard tensed and agreement forms (e.g., Cazden _et_ _al_., 1975; see below section 4.3.2(1B3). The sample in our study seems to be beyond that stage.

Later it will be shown that one speaker in the AOA 6-8 stage has overgeneralized the use of _doesn't_. But this will be seen to be a reanalysis on the basis of _tense_ rather than _person_ or _number_.

4.3.1 (3) Conclusions about 3S Marking

3S marking shows a regular pattern of increasing use with decreasing AOA. It also shows a very close correspondence to language preference and discourse ability in English. The absence of SV agreement with _was_ and _don't_ does _not_ fit into the pattern of 3S-marking. If anything, it shows a contrary trend. It is _not_ sign a of limited core linguistic abilities and must be kept distinct from the pattern of 3S marking.

4.3.2 Tense Marking

Tense marking is a much more complex process than 3S marking, mainly because of the much greater number of irregular verbs, secondly because of the phonological processes that militate against the use of -_ed_ as a simple segment, -_t_ or -_d_ with regular verbs.

In the discussion of tense marking the following major categories will be distinguished:

1. Past,
2. Perfect,
3. Modals and the Past Conditional,
4. The Participle.

The last three categories include consideration of auxiliary forms, as does the simple past in negative and certain interrogative contexts.

In the literature on L_2 acquisition, the Past has received the brunt of attention. Discussion will begin there.

4.3.2 (1) Past

The marking of the past tense of verbs is a process common to both Spanish and English, and it appears that the uses of the past tense as a category are extremely similar in both languages as well. Nevertheless, it is commonly observed that when first acquiring English, Spanish speakers, like speakers of all other language backgrounds, do not mark verbs for the past. Clearly their knowledge of the use of the past, even based on Spanish, is of no use if they do not know the forms of the past.

In the present study, we have much data from most speakers on past-marking, much more than for 3S, since narratives and other past discourses are among the most frequent and elaborate DUs used by the speakers.

In the following analysis we follow the lead of most developmental studies in distinguishing the regular and irregular pasts.

a. the regular past is formed by adding -ed to the verb. If the verb ends in an apical stop, i.e., -t or -d, the form of -ed is syllabic əd in SE, e.g., started, wanted. If the verb ends in another voiceless consonant the form of -ed is the single segment -t , e.g., looked, missed. Otherwise, the form is the single segment -d , e.g., loved, stayed (the usual form for the sample is irregular, stood). Thus, when the form is a single segment, it is often the last member of a consonant cluster, e.g., kt , st , vd . Sociolinguistic studies have shown that in most monolingual dialects of English the last member of final clusters is often deleted, although usually less often when that member is the past tense morpheme marking a regular verb than in other contexts (cf. Labov, 1972, p. 44ff). However, L_2 acquisition studies have rarely considered the phonological context of -ed absence from regular verbs ending in consonants, or compared it with simplification of final consonants from monomorphemic clusters, as in last, lift, act. Therefore, no determination can be made from those studies about whether lack of the -ed suffix is a sign of a low level of acquisition or a high rate of deletion.

In the present study, the problem of -ed will be discussed later. For the most part, analysis will focus on irregular past tenses.

b. The irregular past is formed in a variety of ways depending on the verb. For most verbs, it is salient by the modification of the vowel of the root form, e.g., eat:ate, keep:kept, break:broke. In a few cases the relation is totally suppletive so that the present and the past have no formal relation at all, e.g., am/is/are: was/were; go/went. These verbs are among the most frequently used in discourse, and figure prominently in the data at hand (cf. Kučera & Francis, 1967, for mature written English).

In a few cases, the modification is more subtle and depends on a change in the final consonant, e.g., have/has: had; make: made. Finally, in the standard language a few verbs ending in -t do not change their form at all in the past, e.g., cost, let, bet, hit, beat. The only way these pasts are distinguished from presents are by 3S marking of the present.

In the present data the most commonly used irregular verbs are those which form pasts either by vowel modification or suppletion.

In analyzing the data, all irregular verbs are considered possible contexts for past marking. One caveat applies: There is a pattern of non-past marking of verbs in past contexts called the "historical present" by grammarians. This pattern is common to both Spanish and English, and has been studied for spoken English recently (cf. Wolfson, 1979; Schiffrin, 1981). The pattern is commonly used among AOA 0 speakers, including monolingual English speakers, e.g.:

(4.12) . . . the monkey throws a middle finger
on m, starts goin [gesture], n after,
they just go wild n he had closed the
thing. Jam! N after they got all mad . . .
(KR 11M200EXEE)

KR is a monolingual English speaker telling a story from a movie. The first three verbs are in the historical present. The next two show a switch back to the past. This is typical of movie descriptions, more so than of personal narratives in the sample. Note that KR marks 3S on verbs according to the C-norm (also standard).

KR's use of the historical present is in contrast with PQ's variable use of past marking:

(4.13) . . . my father drank n he win . . .
whoever drink more beer he won . . .
(PQ 12F1062SSS)

While the patterns of the historical present and developmentally variable tense marking are distinct, it is beyond the scope of this report to discuss them. Instead, only those speakers who showed 3S variation are also studied for variation in irregular past marking. Excluded from the count is was/were, whish are always used by all speakers. In the count, only irregular marking and unmarked forms are included. Regularizations such as spitted (SE spat) will be discussed later.

AOA 4-5. Only JB shows variation in this group. He shows a high degree of past tense marking, 82% (20/23 possible contexts).

AOA 6-8.

Speaker	Rate of Past-Marking	Total Possible Contexts
RR 11 f	0.60	5
PQ 12 f	0.71	128
CB 11 f	0.76	79
AR 12 m	0.85	46
OS 12 m	0.55	11

AOA 9+

Speaker	Rate of Past-Marking	Total Possible Contexts
CR 12 m	0.66	90
RM 13 m	0.80	10
AA 12 m	0.25	8
BR 12 m	0.84	19

All speakers who exhibited 3S variation also exhibited variation in past-marking. BR is also included because of his AOA, although he gave insufficient data on 3S-marking.

At this point we can compare the rate of irregular tense-marking with 3S marking. According to the literature, the natural order of aggregated children younger than this sample and of aggregated adults shows 3S-marking as a more advanced process than irregular past marking. Figure 4.1 below confirms this.

Either the rates of application of 3S-marking and irregular past marking are extremely close, or, as in the case of three of the AOA 6-8, the past is evidently further developed. This indicates that a high degree of 3S-marking implies a higher degree of the irregular past.

On closer inspection, however, the implication is not so clear. To begin with, the past of be--was/were--was excluded because it was already fully developed for all these speakers, regardless of how developed other verbs were. Further observation indicates that there are a number of highly frequent verbs, beside be, which are extremely well developed for most of these speakers. These will be called core irregular pasts. They are: go, come, get, have, say. All other verbs such as tell, find, bring, take, etc., will be called peripheral irregular pasts.

The following figure shows that core pasts are much more highly developed than peripheral pasts for most speakers. 3S-marking tends to be intermediate in development between the core and peripheral pasts. Thus, the order of acquisition depends on which pasts are compared with 3S-marking.

The conclusion is that the order of acquisition of irregular pasts and 3S-marking is not clear, because these forms involve the development of different types of rules.

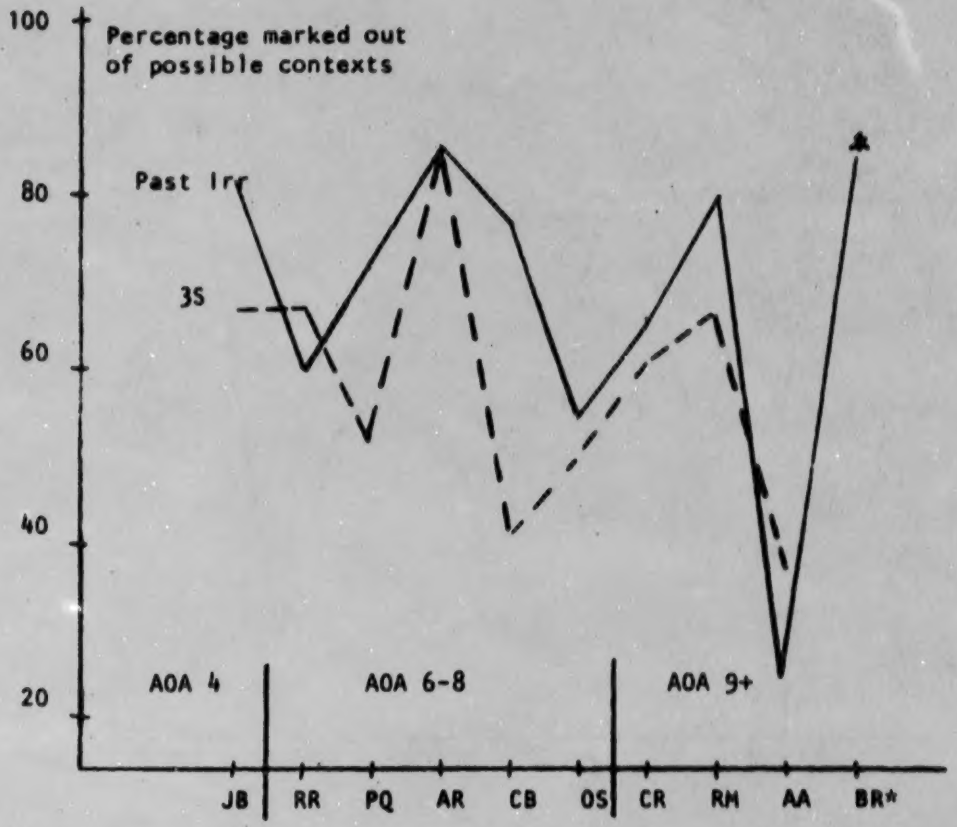


Figure 4.1 Relative Development of Irregular Past and 3S for Variable 3S Speakers. (*n.d. on 3S for BR.)

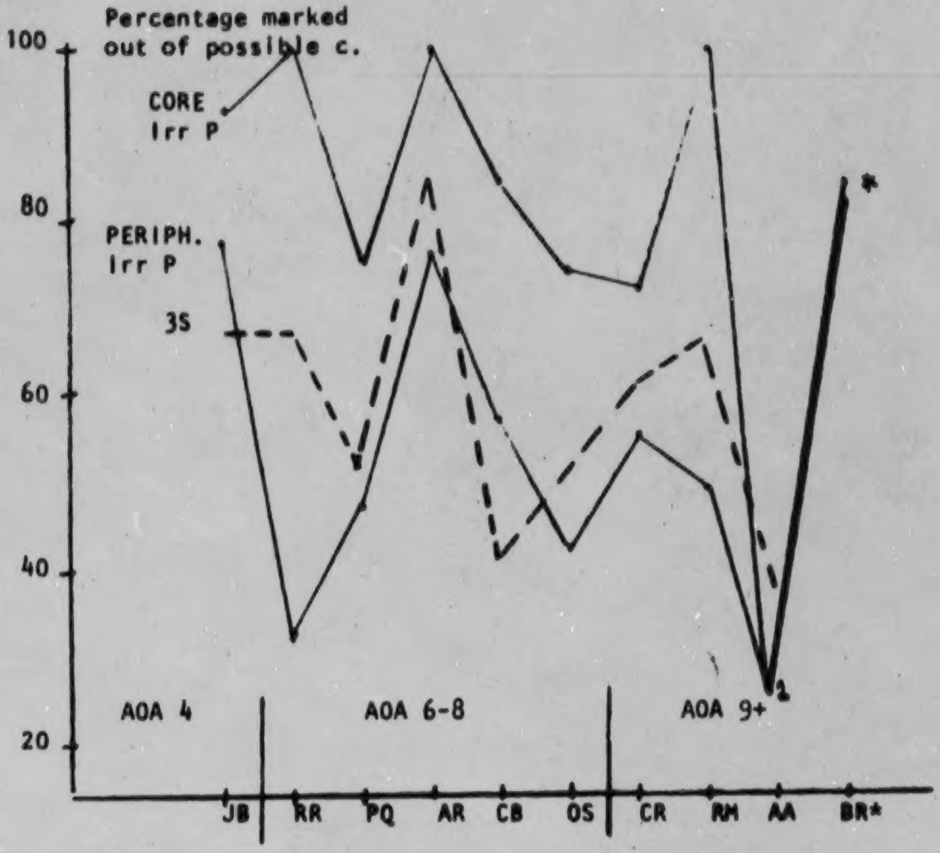


Figure 4.2 Relative Development Distinguishing CORE and PERIPHERAL Irregular Pasts, and 3S for Variable 3S Speakers. (*n.d. on 3S for BR.)

The rule for 3S-marking is relatively regular, with few irregular modifications, all of high frequency verbs.

0 → s/ [3s subject] X Verb _____ [Present]

The rule for irregular pasts depends on learning the past form of many individual verbs, some of which occur much more frequently than others.

It appears that irregular past marking develops more quickly than 3S-marking, but that 3S-marking gains on it because of its relative regularity, while irregular past marking is still developing for more peripheral verbs.

In the chapter discussing the results of the LPI it will be evident that there is more of a "natural" order in the acquisition of specific irregular pasts than in comparing the irregular past with 3S-marking. The development of irregular pasts is a diffusion rule, one which proceeds in decreasing probability of application from one verb to the next.

4.3.2 (1A) The Case of PQ

PQ shows a pattern of past verb negation which is different from either the classroom variety (standard) or vernacular used by English speakers in the community, including the peers who showed preference for English in DI-1 and PC off-topic speech. Like these other speakers she uses don't, doesn't and didn't as verb negators. The distinction lies in her use of doesn't as a past tense negator, as well as and more commonly than didn't. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of the three forms of verb negation in present and past contexts. Note that both don't and didn't are distributed according to tense in her English in a first language way, but doesn't tends to be used at the expense of didn't for the past.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Verb Negators According to Tense in PQ's Narrative.

	don't	doesn't	didn't
Present	4	2	0
Past	0	8	2

Although doesn't is more common for the past than didn't in PQ's English speech, she shows some awareness that didn't is the past form used by other English speakers. Thus, she shows some self-correction, always in the standard direction.

(4.14) . . . they (were) working like that, and then uhm and they doesn't- they didn't know . . .

PQ's case is similar to RM's case of have/has above (Section 4.4.1), in that she uses a feature of English in a way which is systematically different from SE. For her, the form doesn't is not sensitive to person or number but to tense.

An error analysis which simply counts the number of didn't for all possible contexts would not recognize the systematic distinction between didn't and don't, or doesn't and don't in PQ's speech.

4.3.2 (1B) The Regular Past

As mentioned above, detailed analysis of the nonsyllabic regular past, i.e., -t and -d, requires phonological analyses of final consonant cluster reduction. On the other hand, the syllabic regular past does not require such analysis, since there is no basis for expecting final syllable deletion as a phonological process among the speakers.

For most speakers there are only a few examples of verbs which take syllabic pasts in SE. The most common verbs are want, start. The following table aggregates the total use of syllabic -ed in standard English contexts in order to approach a meaningful number of examples. Accordingly, the compared performance for core and peripheral irregular pasts are aggregated. Only eight of the ten speakers using variable irregular past forms are included, since two, PQ and AR, did not use any verbs which require syllabic -ed in SE. Only JB has an AOA younger than 6.

Table 4.5 Comparison of Syllable -ed with Irregular Past for Variable Past Speakers.

	peripheral irregular past	syllabic -ed	core irregular past
percentage realized in possible context	0.63	0.73	0.97
N:	133	22	129

For the group of variable past speakers as a whole, syllabic -ed is slightly more developed than the peripheral irregular past, and less developed than the core irregular past.

Extrapolating a developmental conclusion from this, it appears that the past develops most rapidly for the core irregular past. While it is spreading to more peripheral verbs, -ed as a regular past develops.

There are some further complications in past tense marking, both of a phonological and lexical nature.

4.3.2 (1B1) Lexical

Within the core of past irregular verbs, double-marking by the use of -ed added to the strong past is rare. There is only one example from one of the variable past speakers.

(4.15) . . . then I hadded to explain it to her
(AR $\overline{12}$M207FXSS)

Another speaker, VL, AOA 5, characteristically doubly marks went.

(4.16) . . . they wented to their next door neighbors . . .
(VL 10F10535SS)

Although the mechanism is clear, this form is idiosyncratic to VL and has no bearing on her performance elsewhere in past-marking.

Beyond the core, there is instability in categorizing verbs as regular or irregular with respect to past-marking for individual speakers. Thus, regularizations such as spitted, hitted, costed and bited (varying with bit) are found among the AOA 0-5 speakers. This is a lexical matter. All speakers generally realize that a verb is either regular or irregular, not both. However, there is some variation in assigning verbs to one category or the other.

Most verbs are too rare in the sample to assign a C-norm for past-marking to each verb. In general, it appears that the more common verbs, including bit and bite, have the same norms as SE, even for this age level. For other verbs a C-norm may not have developed at this age. Verbs like dream, dive are variable for regularity even in SE.

4.3.2 (1B2) *Phonological*. The double marking of *regular* verbs was most noted for AOA 0-5, e.g.:

(4.17) I think they suspended him because he jay walk*ded*.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

(4.18)n before, I liked*ed* this boy, his name was J.
(HF 12F10545SS)

This phenomenon is relatively rare and appears to be comfined to early bilinguals. It occurs where the first past marking results in a consonant cluster, e.g., *walked*, *looked*, *liked*. This type of double-marking has been observed in monolingual dialects of English where tolerance to final clusters is low, e.g., Vernacular Black English (Labov, 1972, p. 45ff). The most likely motivation is preservation of the past marking in phonetic contexts where it is threatened by cluster reduction by making it *syllabic*. It is a counter to phonological pressures, and thus a clear sign of acquisition of the -*ed* suffix.

4.3.2 (1B3) *The Hyper-Past*. Strictly speaking, the hyper-past is a syntactic rather than a morphological feature. It involves the marking of the verb as past when the auxiliary is *do*, and is also marked as past (i.e., *did*). It occurs in both negation and questions having subject-auxiliary inversion.

(4.19) I *did*n't *did* it.
(LA 12F200FXSS)

(4.20) *Did* he *left*?
(JS 12M105FXSE)

The hyper-past structure is reported in studies of both first and second language acquisition (cf. Klima & Bellugi, 1975, p. 344; Selinker, 1975, p. 121), and for the more divergent nonstandard dialects of English (Labov, 1968, pp. 258ff; Wolfram, 1974).

The structure is distributed among all AOA groups in the sample.

The table below shows the number and percentage of speakers who used the hyper-past at least once, compared to the number of speakers who provided at least one possible context (i.e., a past negative or interrogative).

Table 4.6 Number and Percentage of Speakers by AOA Group Using the Hyper-Past.

AOA	Number of Speakers	Percentage of Group
0	3/17	0.18
4-5	3/9	0.33
6-8	3/7	0.43
9+	2/5	0.40

Although the number of possible contexts is not controlled, due to limitations on the number of possible contexts for some speakers, there appears to be an increase in use with AOA.

The hyper-past represents an interaction between past-marking and auxiliary structure. Developmentally, past marking begins before the development of auxiliary structure both for first and second speakers (referenced above).

In a study of the acquisition of the English negation pattern by native Spanish speakers, Cazden _et al_. (1975) found that the speakers went through a series of predictable stages in order of _acquisition_.

1. _no_ V/Aux: The Spanish (or interlanguage) structure is used, and no distinction is made between negation before V(erb) and Aux(iliary), e.g., _no talk_, _no is_.
2. _don't_ V/Aux: The "do" form of verb negation is acquired in invariant form, but V and Aux are still not distinguished, e.g., _don't talk_, _don't is_.

3. don't V/Aux n't distinguished in the standard way, e.g., don't talk, isn't.

4. Tensed and personal forms of don't are used in the standard way, e.g., we don't talk, she doesn't talk, they didn't talk.

This pattern was general to all ages and AOAs. As this pattern interacts with tense marking it produces the following effects:

1. I no did it (?)

2-3. I don't did it

3+. I didn't did it

4. I didn't do it

Pattern 1 is not attested to in the present data, perhaps because the speakers are all too advanced. It depends on the ordering of a distinct verb negator and the beginning of past tense acquisition. It is not directly attested to in the literature, but is suggested by Wolfram (1974) in:

(4.21) he not even missed one guy (Wolfram, p. 151).

Pattern 2-3 is attested once in the data, from OS (AOA 8).

(4.22) Oh, do you saw that movie that m . . .

Other examples are attested to outside of the sample, e.g.,

(4.23)a. I don' saw nothin! (FG 20m, DF to LA at age 19)
b. We don' went inside (OG 24f, Guatemala to LA at 17)

The pattern of Table 4.6 suggests that the hyper-past is a D-norm (and possibly also a T-norm since the verb is invariably marked for past in negatives and interrogatives in Spanish). However, it is remarkably persistent. This persistence may indicate that it is actually a C-norm, if it has the stylistic sensitivity apparent for 3S don't and plural was above. At this point it has only been observed among bilinguals in the community.

In any event, it represents the interaction of tense-marking and auxiliary structure, and is a sign of a relatively high level of acquisition of morphological tense marking.

4.3.2 (2) Perfect

The perfect differs from the past both semantically and formally. Semantically, a precise characterization is quite problematic among linguists (cf. Bickerton, 1975). One of its best known properties is that it is restricted to indefinite time contexts and cannot be modified by definite time adverbials which cut it off from the present, e.g., yesterday, last night, at five o'clock this morning. In most contexts the past can be substituted for it, at least in non-standard dialects. Thus, if it were not for the form, it would often not be possible to determine whether the past or present was intended. To exemplify, the structure I seen it was commonly used by speakers of AOA 0-5 in claiming knowledge of a movie. The negative word was either past I didn't (see/saw) it or perfect I haven't (seen/saw) it.

Quite commonly in all spoken dialects of English the auxiliary have is contracted 've, and may be further deleted (cf. Labov, 1968; Wolfram & Fasold, 1974). In determining whether seen was to be analyzed as past or perfect in I seen it, first it was considered whether the same speakers ever used saw. In most cases, the data were sufficient to confirm this. Finally, it was decided to give the benefit of the doubt. Where the perfect was a possible interpretation, it was assumed to be the actual use. As confirmation, there were no instances of seen where the past would be expected, as in once I saw (*seen) a snake with two heads or first he heard footsteps and then he saw (*seen) a monster (although this occurs in some English dialects, e.g., Wolfram et al., 1979, p. 87).

Formally, the perfect consists of: Aux: have + verb: Participial (schematically, verb + en)

As mentioned above, the auxiliary may be deleted if it is not marked for tense and/or negation, i.e., had, haven't. The verb is marked in a participial form which is highly unpredictable across English dialects. One verb with an invariably distinct participial form is be, in the form: been.

Recognizable uses of the perfect have the following distribution among the AOA groups.

Table 4.7 Speakers Using Perfect at Least Once by AOA.

Group	Percentage Using Perfect	Total N
AOA 0	.67	21
AOA 4-5	.67	9
AOA 6-8	.43	7
AOA 9+	.14	7

It is not claimed that speakers not observed using the perfect in fact do not use it, but that there is no evidence for them. Those who use the perfect use it without violating semantic constraints of SE, such as those discussed above. Formally, however, there is some variation in the auxiliary, and striking differences from SE in the participial form.

4.3.2 (2A) Auxiliary

For all speakers in the AOA 0-5 group except one, the auxiliary is based on have. This auxiliary appears variably in a contracted form only for have and has, elsewhere the form is always full, e.g., had is never contracted. The exceptional speaker, JR, is an AOA 0 bilingual. He produced only two examples in perfect contexts, never using the have auxiliary:

(4.24) I don't tell nobody yet
(JR 12M200FXSE)

This construction exemplifies the use of the perfect of persistent situation (cf. Comrie, 1976). In Spanish, the persistent form is present in the positive, e.g., vivo aquí hace muchos años (I've lived here for many years) but perfect or past in the negative, e.g., todavía no se lo he dicho/dije a nadie (I haven't told/didn't tell anybody yet). The form used by JR, however, is indistinguishable from the present. The auxiliary used is do, and the verb is uninflected.

(4.25) I never been up there for a long time
(meaning: 'I've been up there, but that was a long time ago' in context)

In this case, JR uses the participial form, but no auxiliary--unless never is considered the auxiliary. In certain pidgins and creoles, e.g., Cameroonian English pidgin, and in Hawaiian English, never is used to mark the negative past (Schneider, 1966; Bickerton & Odo, 1976, p. 241). However, in 4.25 the context is the experiential perfect.

Among the AOA 6-8, the two English-preferent speakers show forms of have. One of the speakers, CS, also used a form of be once.

(4.26) he said aren't you guys ever noticed that . . .
(CS 11M10635SS)

The third speaker, Spanish-preferent OS, used the following contraction.

(4.27) CR: (to IV) do you see movies, -esc- e- scary movies?
IV: I haven't seen one in a long time
OS: I do.
(when OS is volunteering to tell the story from one)

CR, the AOA 9+ speaker who provided perfect contexts, used the form did, e.g.:

(4.28)a. Did you ever be in love?
(4.28)b. Did you got a wife?

The forms are not clearly distinct from the past. In the first case he may be failing to recognize the auxiliary status of be in questions, as subject to subject/auxiliary inversion (e.g., Were you ever in love?). In the second, did might either foreshadow have or do.

The data suggest that the perfect may first develop through the use of a do auxiliary in negatives and interrogatives, and then replacement by forms of have. JR is idiosyncratic in using the present for the perfect. The development of the participle will show a strong formal resemblance to the past.

The past modals would/should/could have and their reduced forms can be drawn into a discussion of the participle. The evidence shows that the forms used with the past modals are the same as those used with the perfect, e.g.:

(4.29) I coulda been an eyewitness.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

4.3.3 Modals and past conditionals

The perfect past modal consists formally of: (past) modal + have + participle.* Formally, this also corresponds to: (past) modal + perfect. The past modals commonly used in this context are could, should, would.

There is evidence for modal forms only for AOA 0-8 except for BR (AOA 9 LOR 3). The LPI data, discussed more fully in the next chapter, shows that the modal forms above are not easily used by AOA 9+. The first modal which develops is will (see Chapter 5, section 5.5).

A common context for modal use is the purpose clause. All speakers in AOA 0-5 use modals in purpose clauses, e.g.:

(4.30) he ordered them two weeks early so we could have them the same day.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

(4.31) I start shakin' it so that the crust will get all over the thing.
(VP 12F100XXEE)

In Spanish the subjunctive is used in these contexts.

(4.32) Todos cooperaron pa' que hicieran lo demás.
(LQ 12M212XXSS)

The subjunctive is formed morphologically by suffixation to the verb in Spanish. Thus, in English we would expect to find the verb unmarked (0-marked) until the use of an appropriate modal (will, would, can, could, should) is learned.

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*Traditionally, what I am calling the perfect past modal is called the pluperfect modal. However, perfect is sufficient since all modals, past or not, have the same structure, as shown here.

In AOA 6-8, PQ shows variation between modal and 0 marking.

(4.33)a. I just save the money so I could give her back.
b. They work in another country so they 0 get more money for the family.

The LPI indicates that the verb alone is used before the modal develops. PQ is still developing modal use in the purpose clause.

The past conditional takes the reduced form Modal + a/of (of orthographic for 've) before a verb for all speakers. A few unusual uses and structures are found among the AOA 6-8 group:

(4.34)a. If he woulda came he would take us, huh?
(CS 11M10635SS)

CS used the past conditional in the if-clause, although the usual form for speakers is simply the past without a modal. The main clause is not marked for past.

(4.34)b. No way that I woulda of danced with him . . . I'd hugged m.
(AL 12F20724SE)

In AL's second example the modal is not marked for perfect. However, the verb is marked as either past or participle.

CB shows variation between should and should have without marking the verb:

(4.35)a. I should of got - I should tell him on the first day . . . (in a Past Context)
b. you guys should have be here so you could pick up all the money . . .
(CB 11F10625SS)

CB suggests that development of the past conditional is independent of the verb morphology. AL suggests that further development may include past-marking the verb alone. It is perhaps relevant that AL's development of the irregular past was complete, whereas CB showed variation in marking. Thus, CB is more dependent on the modal to mark the perfect with modals.

4.3.4 The participle

For the most part, the evidence of a participle distinct from the past comes from the copula. Only the copula form been, as distinct from was/were, is observed with have, both as a perfect and as a past modal. This form appears to be a direct replacement of the root be, which remains with non-past modals as in the standard, e.g., should be.

The auxiliary form have alone triggers the use of been. Otherwise been may occur only without an auxiliary or modal (as in JR's (4.25) above).

Elsewhere for the entire sample, there is very little distinction between participal and past forms. Indeed, this is true to a great extent for SE, but it is much more extensive for the speakers in this study.

In SE contexts for the participle, unmarked forms are only found for AOA 6+ (a total of 4 in all). Uncounted here is the form come, for which the participial form is also unmarked in SE. However, the form came, like the past, is more common than come among AOA 0, e.g.:

(4.36) he hasn't came to school yet
(MC 12M100PXEE)

MC is monolingual.

Altogether, three speakers used came in this group, while only one used come. Similarly, ran and runned were both used, but not run, the SE form.

A participle distinct from the past was evidenced only for the four common verbs, *be*, *see*, *do*, *go* -- all having modified *-n* participial forms, *been*, *seen*, *done*, *gone*.

The forms *been* and *done* were used to the exclusion of the past of these verbs. For *seen*, the form *saw* was also used by one monolingual English speaker. While *gone* was used following the auxiliary *have*, *went* was more common.

For other verbs with participles based on -*en* in the standard, e.g., *eat*, *take*, *wear*, a form identical to the past was used. For AL, this included *wored* as the past tense and participle of *wear*.

The conclusion is that there is a participial form distinct from the past only for the few common verbs *be*, *do*, *see*, *go*. For some speakers *see* and *go* are also used with the past following *have*. For the most part, the past form is used with *have* for most verbs. Thus, *have* is the marker of the perfect, not the verb form. Deletion of *have* leaves the perfect and past undistinguishable on formal grounds, and possibly on semantic grounds as well, in many contexts.

Whether this is a general C-norm, or a D-norm for this age group cannot be determined until a study of older speakers of AOA 0-5 is undertaken.

The table below summarizes the use of *past* for *participle* forms, where SE distinguishes *past* and *participle*, for AOA 0-5.

Table 4.8 Distinction of Past and Participle for AOA 0-5.

Verbs	Percentage Past	N:
be, *do*, *see**	0.10	20
others**	0.85	13

(*Only *see* used the past form. **Only *go* used the participal form.)

4.3.5 Other Morphological Processes

Other morphological processes treated in the L_2 literature will be treated in a more cursory manner here. For one thing, the processes of 3S marking and past formation are usually treated as among the most advanced processes in natural order studies. The development of these morphemes has already been shown to be relatively advanced for most speakers. According to the literature, earlier acquired processes, such as article usage, the copula, the progressive and the plural, show very little difference from SE norms for any speaker. However, a few notes are worthwhile on phonological processes, reflexives, possessives and prepositions, which may reflect either general C-norms different from SE-norms, or D-norms characteristic of this age group in the community.

4.3.5 (1) Phonological Processes

The phonological process of final cluster reduction was mentioned above with reference to double-marking of the regular past. As this process also applies to root morphemes, it may also effect 3S-marking and other inflectional processes. Where the root cluster affected is sC (where C is any consonant), the syllabic form of the 3S, plural or possessive may result. This is observed in a few instances among AOA 0-5 speakers.

(4.37) we just said, anybody who as'es (= SE asks) you, just say we're from a club.
(JR 12M200FXSE)

Here the form ask is reduced to as', conditioning the syllabic form of the 3S inflection.

(4.38) we had to take pre- tes'es (= SE tests).
(WS 11M10FXCC)

Here the form test is reduced to tes', conditioning the syllabic form of the plural. WS uses the cluster in the progressive testing. The form tes'es is common to several speakers. Others use tes' or test for the plural. In either case the absence of the plural is phonological and does not indicate morphological or syntactic underdevelopment of the plural.

(4.39) She spitted right in the pries'es (= SE priest's) face.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

Here the form priest is reduced to pries' conditioning the syllabic form of the possessive. The case is identical to the others above.

In some cases, the absence of the last consonant of the root may reflect lack of knowledge of that consonant; however, in most cases, it is more likely that the consonant is known but phonologically deleted before an S morpheme (since for verbs the final consonant appears before the -ing suffix).

4.3.5 (2) Reflexive

The form of the reflexive is well known to vary morphologically among non-standard dialects. In SE the paradigm is irregular:

Possessive Pronoun + self (+ Plural) for non-third persons, i.e., myself, yourself, ourselves, yourselves.

Object Pronoun + self (+ Plural) for third persons, i.e., him/her/itself, themselves.

There is great variation among the speakers of all AOAs, both for the form of the pronoun and the use of the plural, e.g., *themself*, *theirselves*, *ourself*, *hisself*. Invariably, if there is a difference from SE it is in the extension of the possessive to third persons and/or the absence of the plural marker (which is redundant since number is shown in the pronoun). It is *not* a sign of bilingualism, and occurs among monolingual speakers.

4.3.5 (3) *Possessive*

Non-SE uses of the possessive are more syntactic than morphological in nature. They have to do with embedding of multiple possessives, e.g.:

(4.40) he got uh in back of my father'*s* wheel *of* the truck
(= the wheel of my father's truck)
(VL 10F10535SS)

The problem arises because the innermost NP, *wheel*, is modified first, with *my father's*. This follows the more frequent pattern of *single* possessive modification, e.g., *my father's truck*, (cf. Chapter 3 example (3.33)). Speakers avoid the possessive inflection on *inanimates*, e.g. *truck's wheel*, preferring the *of* construction, e.g., *wheel of the truck*. The resultant blend separates the first possessive *my father's* from the appropriate modified noun, *truck*. Speakers usually repair these constructions. VL's hesitation marker suggests she saw trouble coming.

Outside of this, there is a tendency for some speakers to add the possessive directly to a regular plural, e.g.:

(4.41) my *friends'es* house
(MR 12F10035SS)

The SE norm insists on omitting the possessive following a regular plural, but orthographically noting its underlying presence with the apostrophe, i.e., friends'. In speech this does not distinguish the singular and plural possessives.

The non-SE norm is a natural extension of the possessive from constructions with irregular plurals, e.g., the children's room.

The possessive inflection S, with its various morphological forms, is clearly a C-norm and is well developed for speakers of this age group, regardless of behavior in S-marking and tense-marking.

4.3.5 (4) Prepositions

Prepositional usage is notoriously difficult to analyze in SE, and shows major differences in Spanish, especially for the monosyllabic prepositions in, on, at, and to a lesser extent to, for, from, with.

The later AOAs indicate generalized use of in for a variety of locative uses, e.g.:

(4.42) . . . I don't know how he- she (= a bee) got in (= through) my pants . . .
(CR 12M10915SS)

In context CR is referring to a bee that stung him through his pants. The bee remained outside of his pants except for the stinger.

The LPI also shows widespread use of in, or at earlier AOAs on, for at the table, most likely a T-norm from Spanish en la mesa.

Direct transfer from Spanish involving to (Spanish a used with direct human objects) is evident in utterances such as:

(4.43) My father likes us more than he did to her.
(CB 11F10625SS)
(4.44) we have to hold hands to - ugly girls.
(RM 13M210NFSS)

This is rare and only found at AOA 6+.

More likely, although still rare for AOA 0-5, is the use of _on_ where SE uses _in_, as if hypercorrecting on the earlier overgeneralization of _in_.

(4.45) n when Cyrus, he was _on_ the front (= in front) . . .
(JR 12M200FXSE)

(4.46) I'm gna put four shots right _on_ his brain.
(IG 11F200PXSE)

These examples come from English-preferent early bilinguals.

Even monolingual speakers occasionally show non-SE uses of _on_.

(4.47) . . . those trash cans that they were hiding _on_ (= behind)
(MC 12M200PXEE)

For AOA 0-5 speakers, it is not clear what the C and D norms for prepositional use are. For the most part they resemble SE norms, but non-SE uses are totally _unreliable_ as indicators of English core linguistic ability until further exploration of C-norms for these communities is undertaken.

4.3.6 _Conclusions about Morphology_

Judgments about language ability based on morphology must be used with care. Many of the processes studied in L_2 acquisition, e.g., regular plural formation, the possessive inflection of nouns, and article use may be of use in determining English language ability. However, the present study indicates that they have a low ceiling, i.e., they are acquired relatively quickly regardless of AOA or LOR. The speakers here have already acquired them at LORs of 2-3 years. Past-tense marking and 3S marking have a higher ceiling, as reported in the L_2 literature, and evidently take longer to reach full mastery.

For the present sample, 3S marking, Past tense formation and modal acquisition are critical of a higher level of core linguistic ability in English. With respect to the irregular past, the distinction between monolingual and bilingual speakers of limited ability depends on the particular irregular verbs. Uncontrolled aggregates of verbs will confuse ability levels.

In the case of the participle the same caveats apply as to irregular forms, but to a much higher degree. Except for a few common forms, e.g., been, seen, the community norms evidently associate the past and participial forms quite generally for this age-group. Exposure to SE norms in the classroom and media show little or no effect on spontaneous usage.

The 3S marking is the safest morphological criterion of language abilities for these communities, offering the highest reliable ceiling and corresponding to language preference. However, regular 3S marking must not include non-SE uses of was or don't, which are general non-SE norms for many dialects, and, in the case of don't, attested to in the sample for all AOAs. For communities in contact with non-3S monolingual communities, most notably American Black communities, 3S development may be a much poorer criterion for English ability.

In view of studies of younger children, monolingual and bilingual, using any or most of the above criteria, none of these criteria are impressive evidence of fluency at this age level. That is, that a 12 year-old (sixth grade) bilingual speaker exhibits the same morphological behavior (maybe 100% standard) as a 7 year-old (second grade) monolingual English speaker does not indicate that s/he has equal access to the educational process as do monolingual age-mates.

While disregarding a speaker's ability in the non-standard community forms of English may under-rate that speaker's abilities, under the misguided assumption that only SE ability is relevant to school achievement (or worse, to English language ability in general), the use of norms appropriate to seven year olds may over-rate a speaker's abilities and, thus, his/her access to English language education.

It may very well be a historical accident of the current focus of developmental studies (originating in pre-school L_1 acquisition studies) that has given rise to the unsupported notion that the linguistic development of a child is complete, for all intents and purposes, by the age of 5-6. This notion is doubtful and counter-intuitive, given the continuing social development of children beyond the age of six. While it is even doubtful for certain aspects of morphology (given the preceding discussion), it is most certainly wrong for syntax, and especially for the use of syntax in constructing more complex discourse units.

On the face of it, expecting the language of 10-12 year-old children to develop only to the level of a 7 year-old does not portend well for the further academic development of those children.

4.4 Syntax

Studies of the development of syntax follow a variety of patterns.

One type of study is associated with Mean-Length-of-Utterance (MLU). Such studies follow quite naturally from concern with the development of utterances from birth, through the babbling stage, to single word, then double word, and then progressively longer utterances, which begin to resemble more mature structures and/or more extensive creativity on the part of the speaker. However, there must be a point where MLU is no longer a relevant criterion of development. As pointed out by Chomsky (e.g., 1958, 1965), mature syntax is capable of producing indeterminately long sentences through the property of recursion. In many cultures, the recursive property of syntax is in stories told to young children, e.g.:

(4.48) this is the fire that burnt the stick that beat the dog that bit the cat that ate the rat that . . .

or

(4.49) all your aunts and your uncles, and your sisters and . . .

Of course, outside of suggestive language-play, there is a limit to the utility of recursive structures, but the crucial point is that speakers, at a certain level of maturity, have the ability to produce and interpret such structures whether they choose to do so or not. At that point MLU is no longer relevant to linguistic ability.

Complex syntax, a type of study that goes beyond MLU, distinguishes different types of syntactic structures and, for whatever reasons, is highly valued in the educational system, especially within the written mode. Studies of this type tend to focus on the kind and variety of connectives used between clauses (e.g., and, but, because, so, then, etc., discussed later), and on the structure of clauses and phrases, particularly for various types of subordination, through which sentences are tightly joined. Production of complex syntax is instrumental in keeping a turn in conversation for an extensive time period, before reaching a possible completion point where another speaker may take the floor, maybe permanently (cf. Sacks *et al.*, 1974).

Another reason for examining syntax rather than morphology is the notion that syntax is less variable than morphology across communities, so that it is easier to trace development more accurately across communities if morphology is avoided. This notion owes some inspiration to studies of Black English, for whom mature speakers may lack SE morphological norms such as 3S-marking, possessive marking of nouns (typically both), and surface manifestations of the *-ed* suffix when it forms final clusters with the preceding verb (variably). Even for typical non-SE constructions such as *multiple negation*, e.g., *I don't like no tests*, the word count is the same as for SE, *I don't like any tests*. This is evident in the design of the BINL, which uses MLU in a count of words, not morphemes, and a complex syntax measure score. The author cites Labov's work on Black English and other non-SE varieties explored at that time (Herbert, 1979). Nevertheless, there are inherent problems in this approach. For example, it is not clear what scorers will do with palpably non-SE structures which are superior in MLU to the equivalent SE structure, e.g., pronoun-copying, as in:

(4.50) some boys, *they* like hang around together.
(AO 11F200EX)

or subject-auxiliary inversion in the embedded question, for example:

(4.51) then they asked them where *did* they live.
(AR 12M107FXSS)

BINL-type measures will concern us further in the next chapter. In this chapter we will report on the syntactic properties of the speakers in spontaneous discourse.

The expected syntactic development for the age group represented in this study is largely uncharted territory. The general bias of developmental studies in sample selection applies to syntax as well as morphology. Developmental studies have either focused on 1-7 year olds, or on adolescents and adults. For pre-school children, syntactic development of spontaneous speech is found in various studies (Bloom, 1970, marks a milestone). School-age children have generally been subjected to experiments testing their comprehension or production of specific structures, e.g., passive, relative clause, locative and temporal connectives (e.g., before-after, cf. Clark, 1971; Bever, 1970, for experimental approaches). For adults, there has been increasing work on syntactic development following depidignization and decreolization models (e.g., Schumann, 1980; Anderson 1980, referring to Bickerton & Odo, 1977). These will concern us where specific structures are discussed, since claims vary between similar or identical language acquisition strategies for pidgins and creoles to historical identity of sources of constructions similar in pidgins, creoles, non-standard dialects, and L_2 acquisition.

Studies of children extending through pre-adolescence have been largely continuations of experimental tests done on younger children. Most of the studies deal with metalinguistic abilities, including recognition of ambiguity, a preoccupation of 1960s American syntacticians following Chomsky's argument for the distinction between surface and deep level syntax (Russell, 1979). These studies find that tested metalinguistic awareness increases with grade level (or average age), but the relevance of this to productive syntactic development in either speech or writing remains unexplored.

Virtually standing alone in the literature is Labov's (1972) study of the development of syntactic devices used in narrative in the Black community of South Central Harlem. Labov reports increased use of syntactic devices such as subordinate structures, modals and comparatives from preadolescence through adolescence to adulthood. This indicates that the use of syntax changes with age across the entire school-age career of some speakers, even if the syntactic structures are already known or are used in more limited ways at earlier ages. Kernan (1977) accepted the general analysis of the structure of narratives as developed by Labov & Waletzky (1967), and further developed in Labov (1972), but avoided syntactic analysis for the three age groups of Black children (7-8), (10-11), (13-14), whose narratives he analyzed. Kernan reports a gradient increase of the connective so at the expense of and.

In the following discussion, particular syntactic structures will be examined. Attention will be paid, where relevant, to their function in discourse. In many cases, it will be evident that C-, D- and T-norms interact with functional properties of constructions in the development of syntactic abilities. The issue of language transfer, and properties of L_1, will be more pointed in syntax than in morphology.

4.4.1 Multiple Negation

Multiple negation (MN) continues a vernacular tradition found throughout the history of English. All sociolinguistic studies of non-SE dialects have included it in their descriptions.

There are two basic types of multiple negation found throughout vernacular English. Both are represented among the speakers.

1. *V-0 MN*. This type of begins with the verb, modified by *not* or *never*, and extends to indeterminate elements following the verb, where SE uses *any*-.

(4.51)a we did*n't* hardly do *no*thin'.
(AO 11F200EX)

For some speakers this type of MN seems to be categorical. AO, a monolingual English speaker, uses it variably. Thus, she also produced,

(4.52) we're *not* even doing it *any*more hardly.

As Wolfram *et al*. (1979) have noted for the English used in certain Pueblo Indian communities in New Mexico, variation is sometimes found within a single utterance. In that case, the element or elements nearest the verb show the copied negative, but successive elements do not:

(4.53) . . . we're *not* from *no* gang or *any*thing
(YL 11F205LFSS)

(4.54) I *never* told him *no*thing, I *never* wanted to come or *no*thing.
(JP 11F200NFSS)

This type of multiple negation is obligatory in Spanish. The following figure shows the total amount of MN out of *all* possible contexts by AOA group. Although there is insufficient data for the latest AOA (9+), the percentage of speakers showing *categorical* V-0 MN indicates the probable reinforcement of the MN pattern of English by the Spanish norm. Thus, MN appears to be both a C- and T-norm. The display indicates that the use of *ain't* (only as negative copula) shows a reverse pattern. Use increases with LOR. The use of *ain't* is a

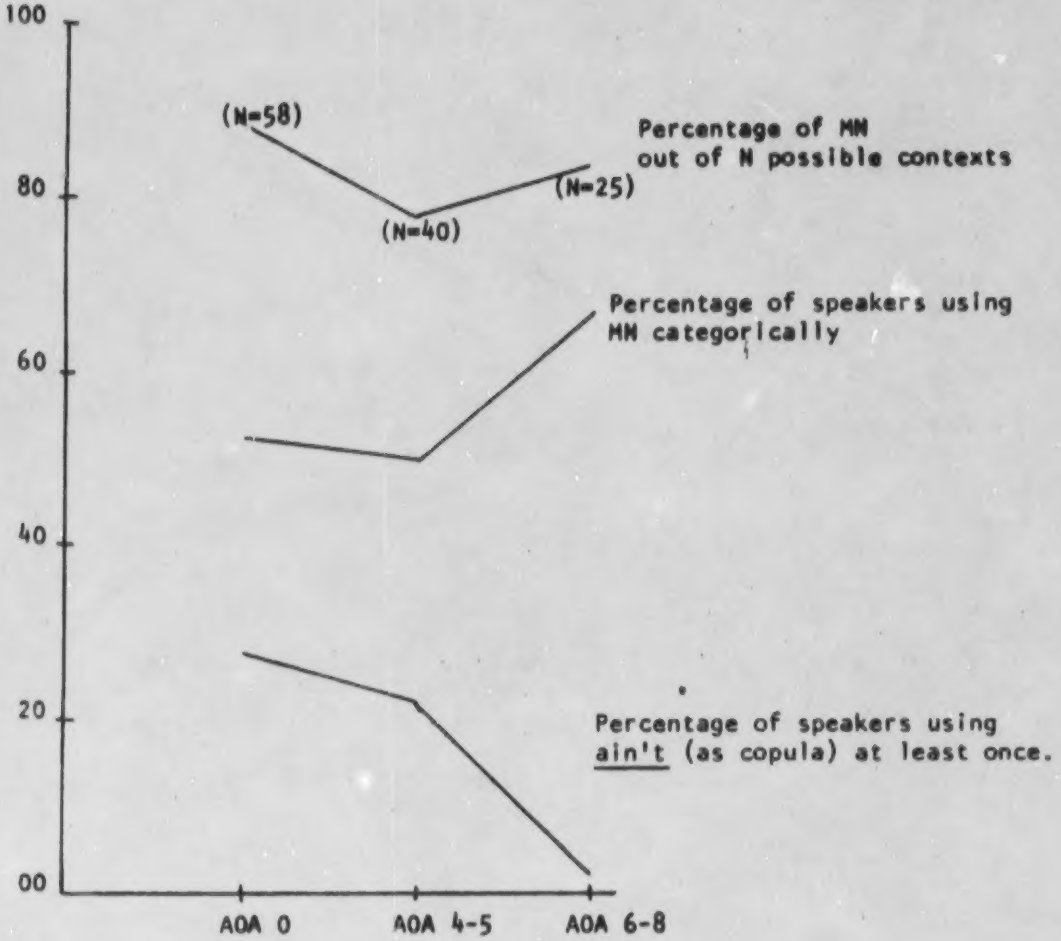


Figure 4.3 Features of Multiple Negation and ain't (Only Observed as a Copula) by AOA.

morphological form in non-standard English which cannot be a T-norm. The display indicates that both standard negation and non-standard ain't, which does not have a Spanish analog, increase in probability of occurrence with LOR (inverse of AOA).

2. S-V MN. This type of MN is not characteristic of Spanish. It proceeds from the subject to the verb. It is known in some American dialects (e.g., Black English, Boston, most Southern dialects), but absent from others (e.g., New York City vernacular). Only one speaker exhibited this pattern:

(4.55) nobody can't get it.
(JR 12M200FXSE)

Whether JR acquired this pattern from a dialect that has it or spontaneously created it is difficult to ascertain. In discussing the English of Puerto Rican adolescents in New York City, Wolfram (1974, p. 180ff) also noted only one speaker using this pattern. Interestingly, he notes that although the pattern exists in coterritorial Black English, the speaker who used it was one without extensive Black contacts. He belonged to a group which, in Wolfram's data, showed less influence of Black English vernacular norms than those with more extensive contacts. In that case too, then, spontaneous creation of the construction is not out of the question.

In any case, the rarity of the S-V MN pattern both in this sample and in Wolfram's Puerto Rican sample indicates a strong possibility that the Spanish constraints are transferred to English.

The Spanish data for JR did not include any possible contexts for the S-V MN pattern. Recall that JR is English-preferent.

3. *Clausal extension of MN*. One further speaker shows the extension of negation to the verb of a following embedded (subordinate) clause.

(4.56) I do*n't* think I'll *never* get to learn Chinese.
(ME 11F205FXSS)

With the adverb *never* (Spanish *nunca* never/ever), this pattern has a Spanish analog.

However, the following example with direct verb negation is *not* characteristic of Spanish.

(4.57) he goes "well, I do*n't* think you do*n't* have the fault"
(meaning '. . . you *have* the fault')

The construction did not occur in ME's Spanish, although there were numerous possible contexts, e.g.:

(4.58) Pero *no* sé qué *siento* cuando veo a alguien que es algo mío o *no* se qué me *da*.

The clausal extension of MN is known to some highly MN dialects, e.g., Black English. However, example (4.58) also provides a Spanish model for (4.56), if *never* and *don't* are both categorized as verb negators.

The strucure is reminiscent of the common English structure (SE?) *it's not your fault, I don't think*. But this structure is not attested to for any of the speakers. It cannot be assumed to exist in these dialects.

4. *Further structures*. One further structure which exhibits MN is negation with the adverbial *hardly*:

(4.59) *hardly no*body likes her
(AO 11F200EX)

The feature has a Spanish analog in *apenas* with the negative, e.g., *apenas nadie vino* (hardly anybody came). It is also a feature of other monolingual vernacular English dialects. AO herself is a monolingual speaker. Thus, it cannot be a T-norm in her speech. However, this does not rule out a Spanish origin or reinforcement of this structure for the community as a whole. The example is instructive in indicating the difficulty in distinguishing C- and T-norms for bilinguals. While transference is ruled out for monolingual speakers, it does not follow that for bilingual speakers such a feature must be the result of transfer.

In conclusion, multiple negation is widespread in the sample and is evidently categorical for many speakers. It is clearly a C-norm. MN is largely restricted to contexts where it could also occur in Spanish, but a few individuals show further uses either through independent creativity or the influence of other English vernaculars.

4.4.2 Embedded Questions

Embedded questions (EQ) are those questions which occur in indirect reported speech. In EQ, the question is preceded by a verb of cognition--know, forget, wonder--or of speech, e.g., ask, and is distinct from the direct question by pronominal reference, and usually tense concord as well, e.g.:

(4.60) [direct question: he asked, "where am I?"
embedded question: he asked where he was (/is).

In SE subject/auxiliary inversion occurs with direct questions but not with EQs. In an EQ such as, he asked where I was, the SE interpretation would necessarily identify I with the speaker of the utterance, not the subject (he) of the main verb (ask).

There are two basic types of EQs.

1. EQI (for EQ-if)

2. EQW (for EQ-"WH" word)

4.4.2 (1) EQI is the embedded form of a yes/no question, e.g.:

(4.61) I don't know if it was him.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

The direct form of the question would be was it him (super-SE was it he?). The answer could be yes or no.

Note that in SE, EQI is introduced by if.

In many non-SE dialects of English subject/auxiliary inversion is used rather than if to signal an EQI. This is the usual construction in Vernacular Black English, e.g.:

(4.62) the police come out there sometime n aks me one time did I know this kid.
(VL 58f, Venice)

The reference of I clearly establishes that this is an EQI and not a direct question.

The non-SE structure is totally unattested to in the sample. Of the 40 EQIs occurring in the speech of 18 speakers who provided possible contexts, all were of the SE variety, introduced by if and without subject/auxiliary inversion.

The EQI structure of SE is clearly a C-norm. It is also the structure used in Spanish, introduced by si (equivalent to English if in all contexts).

It is virtually certain that the Spanish norm contributes to the C-norm for the community as a whole, and as a T-norm for individual bilingual speakers. The behavior of late L_2 learners provides some evidence of direct transfer, e.g.:

(4.63) I don't know si in America . . .
(ZL 25, from Guatemala to U.S. at 22)

Cazden et al. (1975) do not note the extension of subject/auxiliary inversion from direct to embedded yes/no questions for recent learners at any age, although this does occur for wh-questions, as we shall see.

4.4.2 (2) EQW is the embedded form of the wh- (or substance) question. Wh-questions begin with a wh-word, e.g., who, what, when, where, why, how, which request substantive information (rather than affirmation or denial).

In many dialects, EQW like EQI allows subject/auxiliary inversion. While the non-standard EQI is unknown in the communities of the present sample, the case is otherwise for EQW.

All speakers exhibiting EQWs of any form used subject/auxiliary inversion in direct questions. It was evident that subject/auxiliary inversion had been acquired, as in SE and in the vernaculars, for all AOA 0-8. The AOA 9+ also showed subject/auxiliary inversion in direct questions, but only CR produced EQWs, showing variation, e.g.,

(4.64) I don't know how he-she got in my pants . . .

without inversion, and

(4.65) they say you don't know what is that . . .

with inversion.

Both of these types occur among all AOAs. The following table shows the total percentage of usage of inversion in EQW by AOA group, and the percentage of speakers in each AOA using inversion at least once.

Table 4.9 Percentage of Inversion and Percentage of Speakers using Inversion by AOA.

	Percentage of Inversion	Percentage of Speakers using at least once
AOA 0	0.16 (N = 31)	0.45 (N = 11)
AOA 4-5	0.24 (N = 17)	0.56 (N = 9)
AOA 6-8	0.37 (N = 8)	0.40 (N = 5)
AOA 9+	0.50 (N = 2)	1.00 (N = 1)

The gradience in the frequency of inversion by AOA suggests a developmental source. On the other hand, the incidence of inversion by speaker does not show appreciable difference by age group, suggesting that a developmental source is not a sufficient explanation. To a large extent, the pattern for inversion in EQWs is comparable to the MN pattern discussed above. Both developmental and community-established norms may play a role. They are discussed in turn.

Unlike MN, a direct T-norm is not obvious for EQW inversion, since subject/auxiliary inversion is not a property of Spanish, either in general or among the sample. In Spanish an auxiliary and following verb are inseparable (except for interposition of a few temporal adverbs like *nunca*).

However, the L_2 literature suggests a natural developmental source for inversion in EQWs. Cazden *et al*. (1975) observed that among the recent learners they studied, the spread of subject/auxiliary inversion to direct wh-questions was generalized to EQWs during the process of acquisition. Both contexts for wh-questions showed variation. It is clear for the present sample, which presents more experienced English speakers, that as variation retreats from direct wh-questions, it is maintained in the EQW. In this way, the process is similar to what was observed for the hyper-past (section 4.3.2 (1B3)). The hyper-past was observed for the later AOAs, who also exhibited irregular past variation, but remained for earlier AOAs who had well developed irregular parts.

Just as a T-norm was suggested supporting the maintenance of past-marking of verbs even as the auxiliary became well-developed (for the hyper-past), there are features of Spanish which may support subject/auxiliary inversion once it is established.

One support is the postposing of subjects after the verb in wh-questions, e.g.:

(4.66) ¿Cómo se llama este el negro?
wh v s

(AR 12M207FXSS)

This is characteristic of studied Western dialects of Spanish.

In the Caribbean non-postposing is found, e.g.:

(4.67) ¿Dónde tú vivías, C?
wh s v

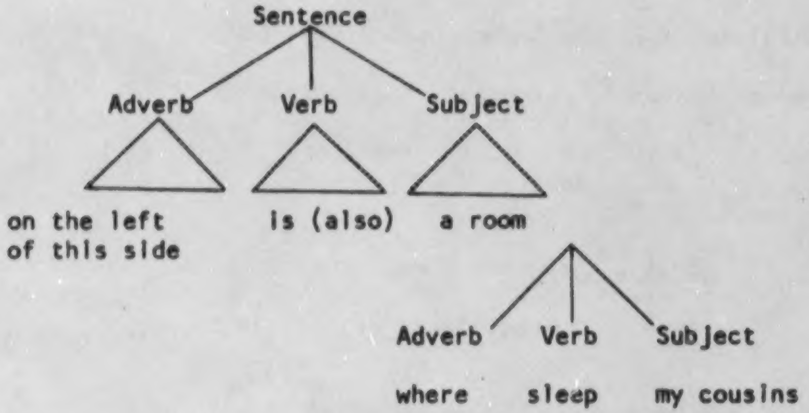
(AM 11M111XXSS)

AM is a recently arrived non-English speaking Cuban. Elsewhere these dialects of Spanish are not represented in the sample. Other speakers are either Indigenous, or from Northwestern or Central Mexico.

The general V-S order of wh-questions in Western Spanish may be a more specific case of a general A/O-V-S word order (where A/O is Locative Adverb/Object) such that subjects and sentence-adverbs/objects tend to be polarized around the verb (cf. Silva-Corvalan, 1977 for the Mexican-American Spanish vernacular of West Los Angeles). The following example from an affirmative context is typical of all the Spanish speakers, regardless of bilingualism:

(4.68) para l' izquierda de este lado está
V
también un cuarto donde duermen mis primos
s V s
(ME 11F205FXSS)

This sentence illustrates the principle twice:


Sentence
Adverb
Verb
Subject
on the left of this side
is (also)
a room
Adverb
Verb
Subject
where
sleep
my cousins

As this structure applies to questions, the similarity between Spanish polarization and English subject/auxiliary inversion is that *tense* precedes the *subject*. In English, the tense is marked on the *auxiliary*, e.g., *do*, while in Spanish it marks the entire verb. Thus, speakers are able to acquire the English auxiliary without giving up *one* of the features of Spanish word order--that tense precedes the subject in EQW.

(4.69)a. donde duermen mis primos
Q V+Tense S

b. where do they sleep
Q Aux. + Tense S V

Where there is convergence of Spanish and English, as in EQI, no intermediate stages have been observed. Inversion in questions appear to be acquired relatively early. It stands to reason that Spanish word order assists in this process.

At any rate, subject/auxiliary inversion in EQW already exists in many (probably all) non-standard monolingual vernaculars. This may serve as reinforcement of developmental and transfer tendencies.

Finally, there is a functional basis for the inversion. This follows from the common use of tell (or less commonly say) to introduce EQs among the speakers (cf. Chomsky, 1969, 41ff), e.g.:

(4.70) he told (= asked) me if I wanted to get in (the car).
(JR 12M200FXSS)

This usage has a direct analog in Spanish decir, e.g.,

(4.71) y luego le dijeron al amigo que si el fumaba
(CS 11M10635SS)

The Spanish use is found among all the bilinguals. The English use is found among all AOAs, including monolingual English speakers, e.g.:

(4.72) they told (= asked) them if they could make it make that scary sound, n all that stuff.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

The use of tell to introduce indirect speech of any and all types is evidently a C-norm for Spanish as well as English.

As tell is used with EQIs, the use of if marks the following clause as interrogative. As tell applies to EQWs, subject/auxiliary inversion is the only marker of the interrogative status of its clause, e.g.:

(4.73) I told her that-that why does she always make me do it.
(YL 11F10FLFSS)

Without subject/auxiliary inversion, EQW resembles an affirmative sentence, e.g.:

(4.74) I tell (= tell) them what it means in Spanish.
(OM 10M10055SE)

This structure: wh + subject + verb is in evidence even among AOA 9+ speakers in the affirmative "cleft" construction below, i.e., that's-wh-S-V, e.g.:

(4.75) that's what I don't like about m
(AA 12M211LPSS)

It is an extremely common construction for all AOAs.

(4.76) that's why she never wants to go
(YL 11F10FLFSS)

Of course, with ask or other interrogative verbs, the status of the wh- clause is clear, whether or not subject/auxiliary inversion applies, e.g.:

(4.77) Our family doesn't even know what it is.
Do you know what uhm time is it?

(WS 11M205FXCC)

The tendency for tell (= ask) speakers to favor subject/auxiliary inversion over non-tell speakers is supported by the data. Below, the sample of speakers using EQW is compared by distinguishing those observed using tell (= ask) from those who were not.

	Tell-Speakers	Non-Tell Speakers
Percentage using EQW inversion	1.00	0.43
N:	(5)	(21)

It is evident that tell plays a role in EQW. While it is possible that some non-tell speakers are based on insufficient data, the functional role is only one of several supports for EQW inversion.

In conclusion, subject/auxiliary inversion in EQW is widespread. It is not necessarily a sign of bilingualism and/or of limited English ability. It is known in monolingual non-standard dialects and has functional support in the communities sampled. However, it also has a developmental and deeper transference aspect among bilinguals. It is used less frequently by speakers of earlier AOAs.

4.5 Discourse Syntax

The syntactic constructions discussed above are integral features of _sentential_ syntax. There are relatively few alternatives for expressing negation or embedding questions. In the case of discourse syntax, the options become much greater, or viewed alternatively, notions about how sentences and clauses cohere in discourse are less well understood. Nevertheless, discourse syntax has been used to evaluate the language proficiency of speakers; consequently, one of the concerns of this study must be the more complex syntax functions in discourse.

Discussion will procede from _conjunction_, the relatively simple manner of joining clauses, to _subordination_, through which clauses are organized in a hierarchical fashion by the depth of embedding.

4.5.1 Conjunction

For all speakers, in both English and Spanish, it is extremely rare in discourse to produce a sequence of two clauses in which there is not an _overt_ connective between them, or one (usually the first) is not overtly subordinated to the other. One of the most extended examples is:

(4.78) there was one boy that was about ten years old. 0 he was playing. 0 he lost (the game). 0 he got hit lotsa times.
(MC 12M100PXEE)

In (4.78), the 0 calls attention to the absence of a connective preceding a main (i.e., non-subordinated) clause.

The 0 is most likely to occur before a main clause in two types of contexts:

a. Following a subordinate clause, and

b. Before a new discourse section.

a. Following a subordinate clause

(4.79) If they have some 0 they give me some. If they can't 0 they don't.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

Following each if-clause, the main clause is directly introduced without a connective. The if-clause is subordinate. A test of subordination is that the subordinate clause may reverse order with the main clause without disturbing the semantic interpretation of the two-clause unit. Thus, we also find:

(4.80) Don't bring it to school, if you're gna keep it.
(JS 12M105FXSE)

As a subordinate clause, the if-clause may precede or follow its main clause. Like when-clauses, if-clauses tend to precede their main clauses. It is rare that examples like (4.80) occur. Therefore, it is difficult to demonstrate this property of subordinate clauses for most speakers. For the sake of anaysis, it was decided that if any speaker showed this reversal ordering of clauses for a clause type, the clause type would be classified as subordinate. Consequently, certain clause types that are considered subordinate in the analysis of SE are left problematic here. This is especially true of clauses which normally *follow* a main clause, rather than precede it, e.g., (*be)cause*, *until*, *so* (*that*). In the data there is no indication for any speaker that these clause types can precede their "main" verbs, although this is possible in SE. Significantly, by their second position in a two-clause unit, the connective between the clauses is *overt* rather than 0, e.g.:

(4.81) . . . they get their name on the board *because* they're not paying attention . . .
(AO 11F200EX)

The order: *Because they're not paying attention 0 they get their name(s) on the board* is not attested to for any speaker.

Some preposed subordinate clauses occasionally are overtly joined to their main clauses by *connectives*, rather than 0.

(4.82) *if* uhm you put agua bendita *then* the spooks - things go away, huh?
(LA 12F200FXSS)

Sometimes the connective *n then* is used in contexts by some speakers where it would not occur in SE (or other known dialects of English):

(4.83) I lied to my mother, n then during drill team when we were running to the auditorium *n then* I fell n then I landed like Superman's flying.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

Here, *n then* is used to mark a consecutive event although *0* is more common among speakers. Similarly,

(4.84) when he crushed him *n then* he was dead
(PQ 12F1062JSS)

and

(4.85) Probably it was my money, because if I put it on the bed *n then* it falls backwards
(WS 11M205FXCC)

In (4.85), WS is speculating about how he loses money in his bedroom.

In all the above cases, n then connects temporally linked clauses. If the first clause of the unit was not marked aa subordinate the n then marking of the second clause would not violate the usual English rules of conjunction.

There is no obvious L_1 source for these deviations from familiar English syntax. A developmental source is possible, as follows:

> The linking of consecutive clauses representing temporally consecutive events by n then is acquired.
>
> 1. . . . n then S n then S n then S . . .
>
> Then the use of subordinating devices are acquired, but the temporal connective is still used.
>
> 2. . . . n then S when S n then S

Occurrences of n then in such contexts is relatively rare. The 0-form is much more common. This suggests that for the most part Stage 2 has been fully passed for all speakers. Further discussion will be taken up later under further use of n then.

b. Before a new discourse section. In contrast to the use of n then linking temporally consecutive events, 0 is found when events are not consecutively ordered. More specifically, it marks off sections of discourse units which are not closely linked in time.

In the first example, JR shifts from a general statement to a narrative illustrating his point. Typically, the beginning of the narrative has a temporal adverbial phrase introducing the orientation section of the narrative:

(4.86) In the house when we bring bonita yk 0 it starts smelling
. . . you feel like barfing. 0 ONE DAY we were eating menudo . . . n the heater was on . . .
(JR 12M200FXSE)

The DU begins with adverbial one day, a total shift in time focus.

Sectioning within narratives is also commonly marked by 0 linkage, as illustrated in the following segments of a story by JP.

(4.87) We started a good fight once. N-n we started throwing them (= food) at the girls n everything. 0 we got a fork n we sit there n we move our hands n just flick it like that
. . . we'd start eating! 0 I got some oranges n chucked them under their feet . . .
(JP 12M100EXEE)

The DU segment begins with a two-clause abstract in which the basic action is previewed. This is immediately followed by a four-clause section analyzing the action in more detail. This section expresses a habitual procedure. The final section given presents a specific action sequence. It is not procedural, but rather shifts to a specific event.

Very commonly the first two clauses of the orientation of a narrative are not overtly linked. They present independent pieces of information without temporal ordering:

(4.88) One time I saw a girl in my cousin's house. 0 she had a thing she used to put spray on her . . .
(DM 11M200PXSS)

or,

(4.89) There's this guy R. 0 he's always fooling around . . .
(IG 11F200PXSE)

The first two clauses of MC's narrative above present another example (example (4.78)). This example is unusual in the number of unlinked clauses in sequence.

While independent narrative-initial clauses are often not linked, in many cases they are, either by and, e.g.:

(4.90) There's this guy n I miss m . . .
(IG 11F200PXSE)

or by relativization,

(4.91) There was this guy that he went to his teacher n his teacher said . . .
(CS 11M10635SS)

These and other cases of alternation between 0 and that will be of concern later under discussion of relativization.

4.5.2 Connectives

So far it is apparent that connectives are in common use to link clauses, and that where they are absent there is a principled basis for their absence. No explanation in terms of bilingualism is yet apparent. On the other hand, certain occurrences of n then were seen to be non-SE, and possibly developmental in origin.

Further analysis will consider other aspects of n then, and will proceed to discussion of further connectives, culminating in analysis of connectives which have both conjunctive (simple linking) and subordinating uses.

4.5.2A N then

For some speakers, the use of n then or then goes beyond signalling clearly temporal events. First, n then can be used to introduce an event which did not take place, but might have been expected to in a situation related to the one represented, e.g.:

(4.92) I told m to put mud on it (= a wound caused by a wasp sting) n then it didn't get swollen.
(VS 12M100EXEE)

Here n then introduces a negative clause, which by its nature is not temporal.

In the next example, n then marks the second of two stories. There is no temporal relation of subsequence of the events of the second DU to those of the first implied:

(4.93) . . . n then another time it was this lady goin in a car . . .
(OM 10M100SSSE)

This use of (n) then to introduce subsequent (in speech) members of a list without any intrinsic temporal order is found in descriptions as well, e.g.:

(4.94) It's about this big. It's a radio. Then you have a TV on this side . . .
(KR 11M200EXEE)

This is a segment from KR's description of his room.

These uses of n then may derive from a cognitive strategy of imposing a temporal order on units of information, represented in clauses or larger units, where no order intrinsically exists. The (n) then claims that there is a relationship between the pieces of discourse linked, without specifying what the relationship is. It signals a shift of attention from an already established focus of interest to a next focus.

The strategy is used in Spanish as well as English:

(4.95) Por ejemplo aquí está la puerta y luego está la sala y luego para acá está la - la cocina y luego . . . está el baño, y luego la recámara . . .
(LG 12F2102PXSS)

The transformation of a state into an experience with a temporal sequence, as a strategy for description, is transparent (cf. Linde & Labov, 1974).

One speaker surpassed all others in extensive use of n then in non-SE contexts:

(4.96) then when he (= the master) talked to him (= the dog) so he recognized the voice n then he (= the dog) didn't do nothing . . .
(EP 11F200FXSE)

EP's use of n then above is of the type of narrative clause links discussed above (section 4.5.2) for other speakers. However, she provides many examples including uses along with other connectives.

(4.97) IG: . . . then I said, go get that little dog or I'll beat the you-know-what outa you.
EP: So n then he stops n then he goes back . . .

No hesitation marker or repair was used between so and n then. Similarly,

(4.98) he was trying to slap me like that but n then I was too short so he went shsh: . . .

Finally,

(4.99) IG: Shsh. I wish I was born in those days, in the 50's, man. It was fun.
IV: Why?
IG: Shsh, it was fun in the 50's, huh?
EP: Cause n then your parents would let you do anything!

It is evident that EP has moved from a stage of:

1. n then S n then S n then S . . .

to:

2. n then S C n then S n then S. . .

where C symbolizes a non-subordinating connective, and S symbolizes clause.

Rather than replace n then, C is placed before n then in these cases. EP is the only speaker in the sample who does this. It is important to note that the non-replacement of n then is variable (cf. so in (4.98) above), and that it does not occur before clearly subordinate clauses, such as those introduced by when or if.

The structure of EP's linked clauses is: S C (n then) S, where the parentheses indicate variability in the occurrence of n then following C.

Along with the few other speakers discussed above, the structure of subordinate-main clause units is: when/if S (n then) S . . .

For all these speakers, a simple count of connectives per clause will not indicate the non-standard use of their connectives. If these phenomena indeed represent a less developed stage of clause linkage than evident in most speakers, the use of either simple MLU measures or connective counts which value frequency of connectives will put them in the wrong developmental order.

4.5.2B Other connectives

Beside n then, a number of other connectives are commonly used. Among them, n alone is most frequent, as already seen in many examples above. The connective so is much less frequent but is used by all speakers who gave extensive narratives. As mentioned above, Kernan (1977) found for the narratives of Black children that so increased with age at the expense of n(then). For the 10-11 year olds in his sample (three), (n)then or n was much more frequent than so (42% vs. 6% of total clauses). A simple eye-check of the present data showed the much greater frequency of n then, n over so. Some speakers produced narratives without so at all, but used so on other occasions.

A distinct use of so introduces purpose clauses (cf. section 4.3.2 (3)). Out of the whole sample, only two speakers, MR A0A0 and VL A0A5, used for instead of so in this way:

(4.100) remember, they give us a little bit of recess for we could play n all that (MR 12F1003555)

(4.101) She's doin that on purpose for they can't see her. (VL 10F1053555)

This use of for transparently originates in Spanish para to introduce purpose clauses. However, it was only used by these two speakers. It was not used by later AOAs who produced purpose clauses. In view of the close friendship and frequent association reported between these two girls (they were in the same peer session although they are in different classrooms at school), it is problematic that the use of for represents a direct and independent transfer from Spanish for each bilingual, rather than a development from an unknown transfer speaker, perhaps one of the two, and adopted by the other. This mechanism is the same as that reported by Labov (1968) for two Black English speaking peers who were close associates and developed extremely similar grammatical features distinct from their other friends, including a distinctive pronunciation of the tag, n shit. The absence of for introducing purpose clauses among later AOAs indicates that this use is not a C-norm nor a T-norm, but rather an idiosyncratic (or rather, bisyncratic) development.

The use of but and (be)cause is also well represented for all AOAs, but is not as frequent as (n)then or so for any speakers in narrative. When they do appear, they are used as in SE.

The connective but is used for contrast, as in:

(4.102) he wasn't with no-no gang or anything but he was with his wife . . .
(YL 11F105LFSS)

It is the usual form used for contrast, but contrast was not commonly used in narrative or other DUs. Alternative methods of contrasting clauses were not commonly recognized in the data. One example shows simple parataxis with ellipsis in the second clause:

(4.103) Anybody could kill him, his brother nuuh-uuh (= anybody could beat him up, but not [beat up] his brother)
(WS 11M105FXCC)

A simple count would confirm the rarity of but-clauses, but would not indicate whether but had been acquired or not, or if so, whether it was used in a standard way.

Similar comments can be made for (be)cause-clauses. While they were relatively infrequent in general, possible contexts for use, where they were not used, were not recognizable. One common frame for (be)cause-clauses was immediately following a "cleft" that's why-clause, e.g.:

(4.104) that's why he never stays late cause he doesn't want nothin to happen to him.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

Although there is nothing unusual about (be)cause clauses in the sample, it is worth mentioning in contrast with observations made on some other English dialects spoken by speakers of bilingual background. Thus, Bickerton & Odo (1976) note that among adult L_2 speakers of Hawaiian English of both Japanese and Filipino background, that's why, as a single unanalyzed form aeswai, was often used in possible contexts for the connective because, e.g.:

(4.105) hi teik kea mai san, hep, hep, aeswai mi poa.
(p. 219)

"he takes care of my son, and helps me, because I'm poor" (spoken by an elderly Filipino).

According to their study, second generation adult speakers often preserved aeswai instead of because, but moved it to a position tolerable to SE and other vernaculars, i.e., following the "because"-clause, e.g.:

(4.106) MF47K: bat kaen wawk, ei? nat dip, ei? (= but you could walk, couldn't you? It wasn't deep, was it?)

MF45K: no, waz, waz lo taid, aeswai (= no, because it was low tide)

(from a conversation between two middle-age second generation Filipino speakers reported in Bickerton, 1977, p. 269)

Nothing of this type is found for the speakers of this study, but the close association of that's why and because is evident in the construction (4.104) given above. The Spanish use of porque for because is the same syntactic context as the English. As Bickerton & Odo suggest generally, transfer from L_1 may account for various forms found among the L_2 Hawaiian English features.

Non-SE use of because was casually observed only for a younger speaker of English, an 8 year old third-grader, who issued the following complaint about a boy to a teacher in a school yard:

(4.107) He's always hitting us. Because (= but/and?) we didn't do nothing!

In this case, because may be explained as a marker of defense. Many accusations are in the form of a why-question: "Juan! Why are you in the girl's bathroom?" Responses representing a defense syntactically take the form because, e.g., "because she stole my comb n ran in there." The speaker appears to abstract the speech act meaning of defense from such exchanges and uses because to signal defense in other contexts. This may be a more general developmental trend, but it is not a D- or C-norm for the present (older) age group.

Returning to temporal connectives, n then is not the only connective used to join temporally consecutive events. The connective after, with or without a preceding n then, is often used by many speakers, e.g.:

(4.108) . . . n then I saw her. She goes, ay, m'ija - n then after that's when she closed her eyes. N then after I go, Mom, look! Come! . . . n then I went to call my brother . . .
(YL 11F105LFSS)

There is no obvious difference between the presence and absence of after following n then.

One speaker used after as a connective to the virtual exclusion of (n)then:

(4.109) I was at the window *n after* it (= earthquake)
started shaking the window . . . *after* I go
ideophone . *After* it just stopped. *After* it
started again. My brother was like this again *n*
after it hit him, *n after* he just jumped on the
sofa.
(JS 12M105FXSE)

Similar behavior is found from JS in Spanish, e.g.:

(4.110) *luego* le pega *y luego después* mi papá dice qué no
le pegue *y luego* le pega otra vez *y luego después*
este dice, por qué no los cuidas, *y luego 'pues* me
meten *y luego después* me pegan.

In Spanish, JS uses *y luego después*, lit. *n then after* rather than *after* alone. There is clearly a relationship between his use of *after* as a connective in English and *y luego después* in Spanish, since its frequency far exceeds that of any other speaker in either language. However, the direction of transfer, if there is one, is not clear.

The case of JS suggests that for other speakers there is the strong possibility of transfer of connectives from one language to the other. However, since connective use in this case is not different in either language, this had no effect on comparison with standard versions of either language. As in the case of EQI clauses, and probably *because*-clauses as well (in contrast to the behavior of Filipino speakers of Hawaiian English discussed above), transference is likely here *without* any retardive effects on the rate of acquisition of C-(and/or SE) norms. On the contrary, the similarity of these structures in Spanish and English most likely enhances the rate of acquisition.

4.5.3 Subordinate Clauses

Generally, properties of subordinate clauses as distinct from simple conjoined clauses have already been discussed in section 4.5.1.

The following discussion will take the order:

1. Movables (*MC* = Movable clause),
2. Relativization (*RC* = Relative clause),
3. Pronoun-copying (= *PC*).

PC is not, strictly speaking, an example of subordination but has features relevant to RC, as discussed in the appropriate section.

4.5.3 (1) *Movable Clauses*. Movable clauses, such as *if* and *when* clauses (discussed above), are freely movable around their main clauses. Outside of *if* and *when*, the most commonly observed MC is the *after*-clause. As noted above, *after* as a connective and *after* as a subordinator are distinct. *Besides* the property of movability, *after*-clauses occurring before their main clauses do not have the final falling intonation found on main clauses, but rather a steady or rising intonation indicating that another clause is about to follow, e.g.:

(4.111) My mom started hearing some things in the closet,
some- *then after she had woke up my father n* my
father goes, it's just your imagination.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

The falling tone on *father* indicates that this is a main clause, and that it is introduced by the connective *then after*, rather than by *after* as a subordinator. It is important to note that the use of *n* alone does not indicate that the previous clause is *not* a subordinate clause, since it has already been observed that, in some cases, a connective links a subordinate clause to a following main clause, even though this may violate SE norms (section 4.5.2 (A & B) above).

The following segment shows *after* used as both a connective and as a subordinator:

(4.112) So I put it in the oven. *After* it's a little--*after* I take it out. N *after* it's already cooked, *I - I* put frosting over it.
(LA 12F200FXSS)

The first case of *after* is edited out before its status becomes clear. The second *after* is the connective use with a falling tone on *out*. The third *after* is a subordinator with no fall on clause-final *cooked*.

As a subordinate clause, the *after*-clause is often not overtly conjoined to a following main clause, e.g.:

(4.113) N then *after* I saw the cholos cross the street to another street, *0* I just went back.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

(Also cf. (4.112) above.)

However, the conjunction *then* may intervene, e.g.:

(4.114) *after* the man started to shoot, *then* this guy got in a car . . .
(MR 12F10035SS)

(4.115) *after* they do it, *then* we get the money.
(JP 12M100EXEE)

The distinction between *after* as connective and *after* as subordinator was only ambiguous when another subordinator immediately followed it:

(4.116) Sometimes I use it, but *then after* uhm *after when* the sun comes out, it gets all shiny.
(JS 12M205FXSE)

The *after*-clause is not actually attested to as a *movable* clause. In the numerous examples among the speakers it always preceded the main clause. Sentences like I always brush my teeth after I eat, which switch the represented order from the actual order of events, were not observed.

On the other hand, before clauses (rarer than after-clauses in overall frequency) occurred in both orders, e.g.:

(4.117) . . . in the night before I go to bed, I make sure the backdoor's locked.
. . . he doesn't stay out late. He only comes before it gets dark.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

It is likely that a discourse contraint favoring identity of represented order and actual order of events favors rightward movement of before clauses over that of after clauses (cf. Clark, 1971).

One type of temporal subordinate clause that is clearly distinct from the SE norm is the habitual, e.g.:

(4.118) everytime we have to go to the store, we go together.
(AL 12F10724SE)

All together, 8 speakers were observed using this form (AOA 0-8). No speakers used the SE alternative whenever.

It is evident that whenever clauses have not developed for this age group. Whether it becomes a C-norm for older speakers remains a matter for further study.

All the temporal conjunctions which are most commonly observed as subordinators also have non-subordinating functions as well. This holds for before, after, and everytime above.

Much less commonly observed are other subordinators, either of a temporal or non-temporal nature, e.g.:

once (4.119) once I get mad, I start-I get uhm like this.
(IG 11F20CPXSE)

while (4.120) *while* he's facing over there, the birds are taking it.
(MR 12F20035SS)

since (4.121) *since* our teacher she always plans everything or she plans it at the last minute, we didn't do nothing hardly.
(AO 11F200EXEE)

unless (4.122) We go everyday *unless* she says there's no enrichment.
(AO 11f200EXEE)

Legum *et al*. (1978) report that *unless* clauses still appear to be difficult for speakers to interpret in comprehension tests given to seventh graders. However, there are unclarities about the characteristics of the sample (Southern Californians) in the cited article.

Subordinate *(al)though* clauses were totally unobserved. Only adverbial *though* postposed to its clause was observed:

(4.123) this man was laying down *n he was alive though*.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

This provides an alternative to the *but*-clause (e.g., . . . *but* he was alive); it is evident that the *although* clause does not. This also indicates that for those subordinators which have non-subordinate uses, the non-subordinate uses develop first.

The relatively rare subordinate clause types were only observed for AOA 0. However, they were so rare for AOA 0 that it is not safe to conclude that the absence of them for AOA 4-5 is an indication of differential ability of these two groups in subordination, nor to attribute the difference to bilingualism.

As adverbs, *once* and *since* are much more commonly found, e.g.:

(4.124) *once* this boy, he beat up my brother . . .
(EP 11F200FXSE)

This was used by six speakers, including an AOA 6-8 speaker, (cf. Spanish una vez lit. one time, used by the four speakers in English):

(4.125) he has been my friend since long years
(IG 11F200PXSE)

This adverbial use of since (SE for) is common to bilingual speakers of all AOA, and may be a C-norm (for is also observed for some speakers). Its origin is transparently (desde) hace mucho tiempo (lit. (since) it makes a long time).

(4.126) ella lo conoce desde hace muchos años
(JR 12M200FXSE)

Spanish distinguishes subordinator desde que 'since' as temporal from ya que or como 'since' as a logical subordinator, e.g.,

(4.127) . . . como no tengo la llave . . . por eso yo tengo mi bike ahí.
(AA 12M211LPSS)

A final note on comparison of English and Spanish subordination is in order. There is little evidence of morphological transfer of subordination from Spanish to English among the bilingual speakers. If there were, we would expect subordinators to be directly followed by that, e.g., after that he went to store, he came right home (cf. Spanish después (de) que).

All Spanish subordinators except como 'since' (logical) are followed directly by que for all the Spanish speakers. At first glance, the variety of subordinate clauses used by the speakers in Spanish appears to be much greater than in English. However, que is so frequently used in Spanish that it blurs the distinction between clauses which would be conjoined and subordinated in English, and for many speakers is quite generally used to introduce clauses of any type, e.g.:

(4.128) IV: y- y ¿qué pasó después de eso?
ME: Pues entonces se levantó y me quiso
agarrar *y que* lo agarro de las greñas y me
pegó aquí bien feo *y que* yo lo agarró y
también *que* le pego *que* lo dejo tirado *y que*
me voy.

These uses of *(y)que* are equivalent to *(n)so(then)* or *(n)then* in comparable English DUs, and thus *que* does not invariably distinguish subordinate from conjoined clauses.

Apart from the use of *que* to introduce Spanish clauses, subordinate or not, the development of subordination in Spanish is still at least as great as in English and can serve as a model for syntactic transfer resulting in well-developed English subordinate clauses.

To conclude, it is evident that conjunctions which have adverbial uses in English are more extensively used in those capacities than as subordinators. The adverbial uses indicate that the *morphological* forms are developed. Their extension to subordinate uses is fully developed for *before* and *after* for AOA 0-8 English-preferent speakers.

The *every time* habitual subordinator is also well developed. Further, although it could be followed by *that* either on the Spanish model or as a type of English relative, it is not. The SE equivalent *whenever* is not used at all.

Other subordinators appear to be developed only for certain speakers among AOA 0-5. The *(al)though* clause is not at all in evidence, although adverbial *though* is used marking an immediately *preceding* clause.

Available evidence indicates that these features of subordination do not distinguish the speakers in this study from comparable (lower SES) monolingual English speakers. But available evidence is not sufficient to establish this conclusively.

4.5.3 (2) *Relativization*. Relativization deserves distinct treatment from movement clauses for several reasons. Its structure and movement properties are distinct from other subordinate clauses; it is the most extensively studied of English subordinate clauses for bilinguals; it has a number of separable aspects, as discussed below.

Relative clauses are directly attached to NPs. Movement of the clause itself is only evident for relatives in intransitive clauses, among English vernaculars:

(4.129)a. the guy *that I told you about* left.
b. the guy left *that I told you about*.

This rightward movement was not evident for any of the speakers.

If the head NP is moved with the clause, as in:

(4.130) the new guy that-*that acts like m the Bruce Lee*,
doesn't he look like *it* (= him)?
(AR 12M207FXSS)

This is a matter of NP movement, not clause movement. It becomes a matter of relevance to RC (relative clause) movement in cases like the following:

(4.131) *People who are - who hate to see movies, they're* the boring ones.
(IG 11F200PXSE)

Some linguists analyze this as clause movement (e.g., Bickerton, 1977); others as insertion of a pronoun (*they*) without movement. These issues will be discussed as appropriate below.

4.5.3 (3) *Analysis of relative clause types*. In this section only RCs with concrete animate and inanimate head nouns, e.g., *a brother who* . . ., the *man that* . . ., *things that* . . ., are included. Excluded are RCs introduced by *wh*-words, e.g.:

(4.132) *everywhere you go* there's waiting (MC 12M200PXEE)
(4.133) they know *where they're gna pass* (YL 11F205LFSS)
(4.134) they buy me *whatever I want* (AR 12M207FXSS)
(4.135) we do the designs *how we want* (AO 11F200EXEE)

and those whose heads can be replaced by wh-words:

(4.136) I like Diana Ross *the way (= how) she sings* (IG 11F200PXSE)

In addition, the RCs which contain a *possessive* referent to the head NP, are set aside for separate discussion, e.g.:

(4.137) the teacher *whose guitar is broken*.

This type does not exist. The equivalent, however, does occur:

(4.138) the one *that they broke his guitar*. (AP 12M200PXSE)

The remaining RCs are classified as S or O (i.e., *subject* or *object*).

S-RC is one in which the referent to the head noun is the *subject* of the RC, e.g.:

(4.139) he has a bigger brother *that came last year* (DM 11M200PXSS)

The referent to the head NP *a bigger brother* is the *subject* of the verb (*came*) of the relative clause.

O-RC is one in which the referent to the head is not the subject of the RC nor any of the categories excluded above. This includes referents which are the *object* of the RC, e.g.:

(4.140) the first boyfriend *that I ever had* (EP 11F200FXSE)

Here the referent of the head, the first boyfriend, is the object of the RC.

Also included in O-RC is one in which the referent to the head is the object of a preposition in the RC, e.g.:

(4.141) they even wrote their names n the gangs they were in

(AP 12M200PXSE)

Here the referent of the head, the gangs, is the object of the preposition in.

It can be noted at this point that the Latin relative clause structure, also typical of current SE, in which the preposition must precede the RC and its marker (which must be a wh-word), does not exist among the speakers, e.g.:

(4.142) they even wrote their names n the gangs
in which they were
prep. wh RC

Although this structure is obligatory in Spanish (of the standard variety), it is never used in English. To the extent that speakers use O-RC they never use the Latin structure. Thus, the speakers all continue the tradition used throughout the history of English of "stranding the preposition." As Jespersen (1965) notes, the Latin structure did not come into vogue in SE until the eighteenth century (p. 80ff). This fashion of SE has not had any effect on English vernaculars. The present sample is no exception. As in the case of the form of participles discussed above (section 4.3.2 (4)), where SE and vernacular norms diverge, the speakers show acquisition of the vernacular norms, not of the SE norms.

The structural definitions of S-RC and O-RC are equivalent to those used in Schumann (1980), in his study of relativization of seven L_2 English speakers of various ages and LORs (five of Spanish L_1, the others Italian). Among the issue raised by Schumann is the relevance to L_2 acquisition of Keenan's (1975) "accessibility hierarchy" of referent relations to the verb of the relative clause. Keenan's hierarchy is based on the observation that there is an implicational relationship among types of RCs across languages. In particular, he observes that if only one type of RC occurs in a language, it is S-RC. If there is more than one type, S-RC is among them. On this basis Keenan argues that this reflects the varying universal accessibility of different referent relations in clauses to relativization, regardless of language. As a universal, the accessibility hierarchy is interpreted to reflect a language-independent feature of syntax. It follows from this that S-RC should be acquired first in any language, and that S-RC should also be more frequent than other RCs in the same language, in particular for L2 speakers who are not "native-like."

The table below compares the aggregate of S-RCs and O-RCs of all speakers in both Schumann's and the present sample:

Table 4.10 Percentage of S-RC Out of S- and O-RC for Present Sample and Schumann's Sample.

Sample	N of Speakers	% S-RC	Total N
Present	35	0.67	214
Schumann[1]	7	0.60	272

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[1] Schumann's data are adapted from his Table 15. There is a slight error in his OS column showing a total of 144 rather than 147. The overall total of both RCs should be 272 rather than 273. This has only a minimal effect on the percentages, changing the OS column from 0.53 to 0.54, and does not change the data on which his arguments are based.

Both studies provide mild support for Keenan's predictions. A different kind of support comes from Gass's (1980) study of adult L_2 English learners of eight different language backgrounds. In a sentence combining task, in which subjects were requested to embed one English main clause in another using relativization, Gass found that S-RC was avoided less than other types, including O-RC, whether direct, indirect or prepositional, and that the number of SE relativizations was greatest for S-RC (which, following the tradition of L_2 acquisition studies, she labels as "correct"). In all of the languages from whose background the speakers were drawn, O-RC as well as S-RC are possible. Only in one case, Thai, was O-RC not possible with the object of a preposition. Gass concludes that her findings on the sentence combining task support Keenan's hypothesis. This is questionable, however, since none of the languages (or at least their standard versions, as discussed later) allow pronoun retention in subject-RC, while several of them (Arabic, Persian, Chinese except for direct objects) do allow pronoun retention in O-RC. The Arabic equivalent of an O-RC would be:

(4.143) the man that I saw him

where him is an example of pronoun-retention.

Since pronoun-retention would cause scoring of an English-RC as incorrect (following the SE norm), and the data for the sentence-combining task is aggregated for all language backgrounds, results from direct transference of the retained pronoun from L1 would still favor "correct" S-RC over O-RC, thus vitiating the relevance of the results of the sentence-combining task to Keenan's accessibility hierarchy. In this case, while the study supports Keenan's predictions, it does not support an explanation based on universal factors, rather than on transference.

In any event, it will be argued later that basing prediction on standard versions of L_1, rather than on the L_1 norms actually used by the speaker, is unreliable, even if expedient.

Schumann, in discussing of his findings, does not conclude that the mild favoring of S-RC over O-RC supports Keenan's predictions. Although he does not discuss the basis for his conclusion, it is apparent that the reason resides in individual cases where O-RC is more frequent than S-RC. Interestingly, the two cases where O-RC consistently exceed S-RC are the two 5-year olds in his seven speaker sample. All other speakers are older. The two speakers in his table who are comparable in age to the present sample fully show S-RC used more frequently than O-RC (Jorge, 13 and hs brother Juan, 10).

While both Schumann's and the present study support Keenan's predictions, there is good reason to expect variation among individual speakers, which vitiates Keenan's explanation for this prediction. To begin with, both English and Spanish (and Italian) freely allow both S- and O-RC. Therefore, if relativization is already developed in these L_1s, there is no obvious reason why it cannot be transferred to L_2. Certainly Spanish speakers have no basis in L_1 for expecting that English does not allow O-RC. But we will now show that an important factor in the favoring of S-RC over O-RC has no clear relationship to the process of relativization in English at all, but rather to what the speakers are talking about.

When we compare the referents of RCs, we find the human status of the referent favors subject over object relations. A human referent is much more likely to be the subject of an RC than its object. Table 4.11 below displays the data.

Table 4.11 Comparison of Human Status of Referent in S-RC and O-RC for the Speaker Sample.

	S-RC	O-RC
Percentage human referent	0.84	0.31
N:	142	72

This is undoubtedly a feature of the preference of humans for subject position and non-humans for object position in general, rather than a feature specific to relative clauses (see articles in Li, 1976, and Givon, 1979, on "topicality" of humans over non-humans, and association of higher "topicality" with subject over object position. This is a cross-linguistic feature, by no means restricted to English). As it affects RCs, S-RCs are more likely to have human referents, while the reverse is true of O-RCs. To the extent that humans figure prominently in a given DU, S-RC is most likely to exceed O-RC. Cases where non-humans figure more prominently will naturally reverse these expectations somewhat, but such cases are rare outside of scientific discourse, and are not well represented in the sample. In any event, whatever is more topical to a particular DU, human or not, is likely to show up in subject position. As this affects RCs, S-RC is more likely. We conclude that the favoring of S-RC over O-RC is a reflection of the aggregate tendency of RCs as a local phenomenon (in a given DU) to mirror the global favoring of subjects over objects in DUs. In the most obvious case, this simply means that more subjects than objects will appear in DUs, whether relative clauses or not, because more clauses have subjects (in fact, all clauses have syntactic subjects) than objects. In the less obvious case, human subjects are more likely than non-human subjects, and in sheer numbers humans are so much more likely to relativize than non-humans that S-RCs will exceed O-RCs. Since this depends on the topicality of humans, these general expectations will be reversed, in some cases, but it will generally confirm Keenan's predictions, although not for the reasons he suggests.

It follows, then, that the above data do not support an argument based on universal access adapted to L_2 acquisition at the expense of transference of L_1 tendencies to L_2, but rather depend on topicality features of discourse which are independent of language.

Another feature of RCs which has been considered relevant to acquisition studies is the relationship of the head noun phrase (NP) of the RC to its own clause. Although, as noted above, there are possible cases where an RC can be separated from its head noun, this never occurred for the speakers. The head noun was always directly followed by the relative clause. Therefore, there is a direct relationship between the position of the head noun relative to its own clause, and the position of the RC relative to the higher clause.

As in the case discussed above, two relations of head noun to its clause pursued here are subject and object. The definitions of subject and object are the same as used above. An RC will be referred to as an S-H (subject-head) if the head of the RC is the subject of the main clause, e.g.:

(4.144) the lady that used to like him remembered.
(LA 12F200FXSS)

Here the lady is the subject of the main verb remembered. Thus, the RC type is subject-head.

Three featurs of RCs are coded for future reference, in the following order.

1. Subject- or Object-Head Status,
2. S- or O-RC Status,
3. Position of the head relative to the verb of the main clause, as B (= before) and A (= after).

Thus, (4.144) above is SSB. The first S indicates that it is an S-H RC. The second S indicates that it is an S-RC. The final B indicates that the S-H (both the head and the RC) occur before the verb.

The following S-H is coded as SOB:

(4.145) the next thing I see was the skeleton
(LA 12F200FXSS)

Here the next thing is subject of the main verb was. It differs from the other example in that it is an O-RC, rather than an S-RC.

The next example is coded as SSB:

(4.146) those two kids that came from outa space, they looked like humans.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

Here those two kids is the subject of the main verb looked (like). This SSB differs from (4.145) in that the main clause has a pronoun with the same syntactic relation (i.e., subject) as the head NP, i.e., they = those two kids. This will concern us later.

An example of an O-H is:

(4.147) we had a friend that lived next door to us.
(LA 12F200FXSS)

This is coded as OSA. It is an O-H with the head a friend as object of the main verb had. It is an S-RC (referent is subject of RC verb lived). The head is after the main verb.

(4.148) I don't know the ones (= superstitions) that they believe.
(JS 12M205FXSE)

This O-H is coded as OOA. The head the ones is the object of the main verb know. It is an O-RC (to the RC verb believe). The head is after the verb.

(4.149) Like a lady he really hated, he sent some crows to go kill her.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

This O-H is coded as OOB. The head a lady is object of the higher (main verb relative to the RC) verb kill. The RC is O-RC (the referent is object of the RC verb hated). The head comes before the main verb kill. The pronoun, her, identical in syntactic relation to the head NP, i.e., her = the lady, will concern us later.

Included as O-Hs are "objects" of the verb be, e.g.:

(4.150) there was a gate that said "Keep out! Dangerous!"
(AP 12M200PXSE)

This is coded as OSA.

(4.151) I'm the one that gives m to her.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

This is also coded as OSA.

Excluded from the count are RCs which occur without main clauses attached, even if the main clause is recoverable from surrounding discourse, e.g.:

(4.152) DM: Gypsy's like a bad gang. But- the smallest's the captain, but the rest are old, huh? Your friend. The one that broke his leg, huh. The one that has a Schwinn.
WS: Which one? Oh, T?
DM: Yeah. Is he M- does he know M, the guy?

As defined, the distinction between S-H and O-H is comparable to Schumann's data (*op*. *cit*.). The table below compares the distribution of H-types of the present sample with Schumann's sample.

Table 4.12 Percentage of O-H and S- and O-H for Present Sample and Schumann's Sample.

	Number of Speakers	% O-H	Total N
Present	35	0.79	162[2]
Schumann	7	0.89	272

Schumann suggests that this distribution supports Kuno's (1974) claim that central embedding (i.e., the SSB type) is perceptually more difficult to comprehend than the right-embedded type. Thus, speakers should tend to avoid this type, making it rarer than the right-embedded type. Crucial to Kuno's argument is that the central embedding separates the *subject* from the *verb*.

Implicit in this argument is that sentences like the following might confuse speakers as to what the subject of the main verb is:

(4.153) *the one* that spins *it tells* what to do.
(AP 12M200PXSE)

In context the subject of *tells* is *the one*, not *it*. This possible ambiguity can be avoided if the subject head is *positioned* immediatey before the verb. But then where does the RC go? Cases like *the one tells* (*what to do*) *that spins it* are totally absent from the data.

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[2] Exclusion of unattached RCs reduces data from 214 in Table 4.12 to 162, but does not exclude any speakers.

Postposing of RCs which intervene between a head NP and its main verb is not apparent. In point of fact, position after the verb is somewhat less favored for RCs than O-Hs as a whole. The table below compares the percentage of O-Hs and of total RCs to the percentage (postposed) RCs appearing after the verb of the main clause.

Table 4.13 Comparison of Percentage Object-Head Relative Clauses to Percentage of RCs Following the Main Verb.

% O-H	% RC after main verb	N
0.79	0.72	162

The difference between the two percentages in the table is totally due to preposed objects (10 in all), e.g.:

(4.154) All these things you'd think a sixth grader can do [they're afraid of.] Type OOB
(AO 11F200EXEE)

Thus, while S-Hs are never postposed, with or without their head NPs, O-Hs may be preposed by some speakers, always with their head NPs. In one case, the preposing of the O-H results in a pronoun that would be obligatory according to SE norms:

(4.155) the new guy [that - that acts like m the Bruce Lee], doesn't he look like it (= him)? Type OSB
(AR 12M207FXSS)

Cf. all these things they're afraid of 0;

but not, the new guy doesn't he look like 0?[3]

(where 0; indicates absence of a pronominal reference).

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[3] NPs cannot be moved in front of clauses such as questions and not leave a pronoun copy in place. Full discussion is beyond the scope of this report.

In other cases, where the pronoun occurs it is not obligatory in SE, e.g.:

(4.156) the thing [we do in the book] I don't like *it*
Type OOB
(AL 12M10724SE)

that is, *the thing* [*we do in the book*] *I don't like 0*; does *not* violate the norms of SE.

When the pronoun referential to the preposed NP (+ RC) appears in place, the main clause is syntactically complete on its own. Thus, *I don't like* is not syntactically complete, but *I don't like it* is. Although some speakers use preposing without leaving a *pronoun* (henceforth it will be called a *pronominal copy*), pronominal copies are clearly preferred by most speakers, leaving main clauses complete on their own. This behavior extends to S-H as well, as anticipated above.

The following example shows both possibilities for S-H:

(4.157) *the people* [w - who are in this team], *they* try to kick it over there. N the people [who are in this team] *0* try to kick it over here.
(JS 10M10055SE)

In the first case, the main clause is complete on its own, *they try to kick it*. . . . In the second case, the main clause is split between *the people* (subject) and *try to kick it* . . . (predicate), separated by the RC.

The following table analyzes the incidence of pronoun copy for each of the four RC types in which the RC occurs *before* the main verb. Only those cases where variation between a pronoun copy and 0; is possible are counted as possible contexts. For case of reference, the four RC types are exemplified here:

1. *SSB*: the man that saw me (he) left (his wife)
2. *SOB*: the man (that) I saw (he) left (his wife)

3. OSB: the man that saw me his wife left (him)

4. OOB: the man (that) I saw his wife left (him)

Note that of these for types, if the pronoun copy is omitted, only for type SOB will the verb of the RC and the main verb come in contact (2. . . . saw left . . .)

Table 4.14 Percentage of Pronoun Copy for the Four RC Types that Occur Before a Main Verb.

	RC Type			
	SSB	SOB	OOB	OSB
% Pronoun Copy	0.76	0.30	0.88	1.00
N:	25	10	8	2

The pronoun copy is highly favored except for type SOB. This supports the notion that perceptual difficulty is involved in avoidance of central embedding, as long as the embedding involves SSB, where . . . VN] V . . . is in danger of being interpreted as . . . V] NV . . . (where] indicates the end of a clause--in this case the RC--and V symbolizes a verb, e.g., spins, tells, and N symbolizes a noun, e.g., it).

But the explanation of perceptual difficulty for the relative rarity of SSB, even when the pronoun copy is used, is quite unclear. In a case like people who hate to see movies, they're the boring ones, there is no clear-cut central embedding. The main clause is not split between subject and predicate. Nothing intervenes between them. Why should this type of clause sequence be any more perceptually difficult than: Some people hate to see movies n they're the boring ones? In both cases a pronoun refers back to a previously mentioned NP.

While perceptual difficulty may play a role in disfavoring S-H over O-H, it is not a satisfactory explanation when S-H does not involve central embedding. Yet even without central embedding S-H is disfavored over O-H. The explanation is more likely to lie in the discourse function of relativized NPs. In particular, it may be the case that the difference in the information status of subjects and objects favors relativization of objects more than subjects. Subjects are usually previously established in discourse, i.e., they refer to given information. New information (i.e., information not given or deducible from previous discourse) is usually established in object position, especially in there was/were . . . (existential) clauses, but also in many other clause types, e.g., I know this guy, I have a friend (Li, 1976, Givon, 1979).[4] If the information in the RC is new it is most likely attached to an object head NP, e.g.:

(4.158) . . . it's about some animals that grow big, like bees.
(CS 11M10635SS)

The information in an S-H is likely to be given, already established or deducible, and serves to indicate one from a number possible referents of a subject NP, e.g.:

(4.159) My brother [that's older than me] is sixteen.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

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[4] The notions of given and new as they apply to RCs are somewhat similar to the terms specified and defined, respectively, as used in Bickerton & Odo, 1976, pp. 127ff, and pursued by Bickerton, 1977. This will be taken up later.

Here MC has already established that he has an older brother. The RC functions simply to indicate which *my brother* MC is referring to. Similar observations hold for the other cited S-Hs and O-Hs. All that is needed to complete the argument is to establish that RCs containing *new* information are more common than RCs used to disambiguate referents on the basis of already *given* information. Then it will follow that O-Hs are more common than S-Hs. This will be pursued later in the discussion of pronoun-copying, which compares structures such as:

(4.160) the guy [that was paralyzed], *he* was sleeping n the bed
(IP 12F10054SE)

with

(4.161) My uncle, *he's* a teacher . . .
(AR 12M207FXSS)

At that point, we will also discuss whether or not there is any Spanish support for pronoun-copying which preserves full clause structure (see section 4.5.6).

4.5.4 *The relative marker*. Three relative markers (RMs) which link head nouns to RCs are *that*, *who* and 0, i.e., the absence of any marker. There are no clear cases of personal pronouns (e.g., *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*) being used to mark relative clauses, although this is noted by Bickerton (1977) for both L_1 and L_2 Hawaiian English speakers, and is also reported by Schumann (1980) for some L_2 English speakers with concurrently undeveloped negative structures. The speakers in the present sample are too well advanced to show this possible feature, but there are structures which will be relevant later in the discussion where considerations of personal pronouns in RCs becomes an issue.

The following examples illustrate the three RMs:

(4.162) the little one that was three years old . . .
(BM 11F200FXSS)

(4.163) . . . the one who translated it
(ME 11F205FXSS)

(4.164) . . . those kind of cholos 0 there is right now
(AL 12F10724SE)

In the Spanish of the speakers, the RM invariably used is que. No 0 forms nor other forms, e.g., quien, were found. The absence of 0 forms conforms to expectations based on Standard Spanish. However, the absence of any other morphological RM shows a more restricted form of RM-marking than the standard language. Also as noted above (end of section 4.5.3.(1)), que is commonly used to introduce all clause types.

The use of who is relatively rare and restricted entirely to S-RCs. The following table shows that it is gradient by AOA group, and thus shows the clear L_2 acquisitional pattern. The table also shows the percentage of use of who for all S-RCs, indicating that it is relatively rare even among the AOA groups for which it occurs.

Table 4.15 Percentage of Speakers Using who as an RM in S-RC and Percentage of Use in Total S-RC by AOA Group.

	% Speakers (N) using once		% Total Use in S-RC (N)	
AOA 0	0.43	(14)	0.22	(44)
AOA 4-5	0.14	(7)	0.09	(44)
AOA 6-8	0.00	(5)	0.00	(51)
AOA 9+	0.00	(2)	0.00	(3)

Transfer is ruled out in this case since equivalents of who as RM are not observed in the Spanish data. The low overall use of who appears to be a developmental feature for this age group, regardless of AOA.[5]

Historically, it is to be noted that who as an RM, along with other wh-forms, started to be used in the Middle English period (ca. 14th century). The use of that as an RM is older and continues to be more frequent in written English (Jespersen, 1965, pp. 80ff; Huddleston, 1971, p. 231).

Possibly the option of who for that never spread to younger children in most English vernaculars, and just begins to develop in mid to late preadolescence (after the age of 8). The Spanish equation of que with that to mark RCs reinforces the preference for that over who already apparent in English at all age levels. No instances of whom, which as RMs are observed, even in the most likely non-standard construction found among adolescents and adults, e.g.:

(4.165) I can speak both languages, which they [=Mexican nationals] can't.
(JA 64m, Venice)

in which the entire predicate is relativized.

The choice between 0 and that is a more complex matter. The use of 0 may derive either from adoption of vernacular (and SE) norms, which are found throughout the recorded history of English, or may indicate failure to have developed the RM that.

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[5] Cofer (1972) reports the rarity of who introducing S-RCs for adult lower SES Philadelphians (e.g., footnote on p. 311). In all only 12% of a sample of S-RCs from 15 speakers showed use of who as RM (p. 344). In contrast, Quirk (1957) reports that a university educated sample of British middle class speakers used who for S-RC in 93% of the possible contexts.

At first glance, there is little evidence of failure to develop the RM. For S-RC, where an RM is obligatory in SE and most vernaculars, there is only *one* case (out of 142 possible contexts), in whch 0 was used rather than an RM:

(4.166) there were only two of m *0* lived Type OSA
(VM 12F10555SS)

For VM, AOA 5, this is the only case out of 9 S-RCs. Significantly, this case is possible in some English vernaculars (cf. Wolfram *et al*., 1976). But it is not otherwise attested to for any speakers of this age group despite ample opportunity. RM 0 is never found for SSB, e.g., *the one 0 [had the gun] did it*. This type would violate the constraint proposed by Bever & Langendoen (1971) and would result in perceptual difficulty, presumably because the first verb *had* would be in danger of being interpreted as a main clause verb, rather than an RC verb.

For other speakers *0* and *that* alternate only for O-RC, as in all English vernaculars and the standard, e.g.:

(4.167) that's the part *0* [I like to do]
(IP 12F10054SE)
(4.168) the part *that* [I like to do most] is when . . .
(same speaker)

The table below shows the percentage of speakers using 0 as an RM and the percentage of use of the 0-RM for each AOA group in O-RC.

Table 4.16 Percentage of Speakers Using 0-RM and Total Percentage of Use for O-RC by AOA.

	% of Speakers using	(N)	% of use per total O-RC	(N)
AOA 0	0.92	(13)	0.41	(41)
AOA 4-5	0.14	(7)	0.06	(15)
AOA 6-8	1.00	(3)	0.88	(16)
AOA 9+	--		--	

The pattern, or absence of it, is quite strange. Possibly AOA 4-5 shows little use of 0-RC because most speakers are underrepresented, and would resemble AOA 0 more if data were increased. However, the four speakers producing 3-4 0-RCs each show no 0-RM at all. Distortion due to underrepresentation is unlikely. On the other hand, the extremely high percentage of 0-RM for AOA 6-8 may suggest failure to develop RM _that_ in English (or to transfer it from Spanish) _in the 0-RC context_. It is well established in S-RC, as mentioned above.

Because the table offers little enlightenment about effects on the choice between 0 and _that_ for marking 0-RC, nothing will be concluded except that no obvious transfer takes place in 0-RC marking. The source of 0-RM remains problematic between L2 development and monolingual English vernacular patterning.

Further problems in the alternation between 0 and _that_, leading ultimately to problems in recognizing _all_ possible contexts for RCs, are discussed immediately below.

4.5.5 _Pronominal trace and further development of RC_. Up to this point only S- and 0-RCs have been discussed. Possessive (also called _genitive_) RCs have not figured in discussion for a number of reasons: Possessive RCs were _never_ produced in the standard manner, but rather always consisted of an RC with a possessive pronoun overtly referring to the head NP, e.g.:

(4.169) this Miss R, she has a little girl that [_her_ name is L].

(ME 11F205FXSS)

The SE version would be: . . . a little girl _whose_ name is L.

In the actual construction used by the speakers, the possessive relation is marked by a pronoun in the RC. A pronoun in an RC which is referential to the head will be called a pronominal trace, or simply trace for short. In (4.169) above, the head of the RC is a little girl. The trace is her. It is possessive. Similarly,

(4.170) . . . the one (= teacher) that [they (= vandals) broke his guitar]
(AP 12M200PXSE)

In (4.170), the head noun of the RC is the one. The trace is his.

Again, the SE version would be: The one whose guitar they broke.

The trace possessive RC construction is known throughout the history of English. Many examples occur in Chaucer, e.g.,

(4.171) All were they sore (= very) i-hurt, and namely one that with a spear was thirled (= pierced) his breast-bone (i.e., one whose breast-bone . . .)
(cf. Jespersen, 1965, p. 110)

The present speakers may easily be preserving the vernacular English tradition, uninfluenced by the later Latin rule which gave rise to the current SE norm, whose.

Standard Spanish has an equivalent of the SE norm whose in cuyo, e.g.:

(4.172) . . . un pequeño pueblo cuyo [nombre he olvidado]
(Ramsey, 1956, p. 202)

This was never used.

The standard alternative de/a quien as in:

(4.173) . . . mi esposa a quién [ya le empezaba a doler la cabeza] . . .
(op. cit., p. 203)

was also not observed. As mentioned earlier, the Latin relativization norm of Prep + wh-form (of RM) was used neither in English nor Spanish.

The Spanish norm actually used is syntactically equivalent to the observed English norm, e.g.:

(4.174) tenía una- una hija que [su esposo estaba mal del corazón]

(RR 11F10715SS)

This is exactly equivalent to: She had a daughter that [her husband had a bad heart].

Thus, transfer is not out of the question. However, it is at least as plausible that the same strategy is used by speakers for both languages, without the question of direction of transfer being raised. Recall that RR is a Spanish-preferent speaker with limited morphological control of English (cf. section 3.4.1 (2)).

The form of the RC actually used for possessive results in a complete clause, in itself no different in structure than a main clause. If it were not for the RM that, it would be difficult to recognize the clause as RC. Suppose 0-RM were possible for such structures. The result would be:

(4.175) . . . I know this girl 0(?) [her name is P], n she useta live next to me.

(YL 11F205LFSS)

There any many such cases in which possible context for RC occurs. These may be analyzed as independent clauses, or as RCs preceded by 0-RM. This type of possible context is particularly common in the data in introducing new referents, and immediately identifying them by name, e.g.:

(4.176) there was this girl 0(?) [her name was A].

(EP 11F200FXSE)

If all structures of this type are considered possible contexts for RC, the 0-RM is more frequent than the use of that. Alternatively, one might conclude that relativization has not yet developed in these contexts.

Rarest of all were other possible constructions for introducing new referents and naming them, e.g.:

(4.177) there's a guy [name(d?) R], he lives . . .
(CS MM10635SS)

(4.178) The boy's name is E [that lives there]
(VM 12F10555SS)

Only under this condition might one say that the RC is moved to the right (cf. section 4.5.3 (2) example (4.129)b above), i.e., to avoid: the boy that [lives there]'s/his name is E. The only other case of possible right movement was:

(4.179) the guy's name was R, the one 0 [I liked]
(AL 12F10724SE)

but in this case a NP the one refers to the guy. There is no apparent reason to consider this right movement, rather than the so-called "after-thought" pattern (Givon, 1976) with no syntactic binding to the preceding main clause, cf.:

(4.180) . . . we went last week, me n Hector.
(JP 12M100EXEE)

The possessive RC illustrates the vernacular pattern of English. As with the use of that rather than who, the influence of SE is not seen.

Whereas there is no clear case for developmental stage, as opposed to established vernacular, for the possessive RC, there is one further RC construction containing a trace where developmental stage in relativization is evident. This occurs in the S-RC.

The S-RC is observed for some speakers with a trace pronoun, e.g.:

(4.181) there's a girl that [she got white ones (= shoes)].
(JR 12M200FXSE)

The norm of SE and known current English vernaculars would predict 0 rather than a trace, i.e., a girl that [0 got white ones].

The following table shows that the trace is found among speakers of all AOAs in S-RC.

Table 4.17 Percentage of Speakers Using Trace in S-RC and Percentage of Trace for All S-RC, by AOA.

	% of Speakers using trace in S-RC (N)	% trace total RC
AOA 0	.23 (13)	.09 (44)
AOA 4-5	.29 (7)	.09 (44)
AOA 6-8	.80 (5)	.08 (51)
AOA 9+	00 (2)	.00 (3)

In contrast, there is only one case of trace with 0-RC:

(4.182) he's the only one 0 [they took him to jail]
(VS 12M100EXEE)

VS is a monolingual Engish speaker.

Otherwise, the norms of 0-RC are the same as for SE and most vernaculars, e.g.:

(4.183) that's the only one [I went to 0]
(MC 12M200PXEE)

but not

. . . [I went to it]

The preference of the trace in S-RC rather than 0-RC contradicts applicability of the hierarchy of accessibility to development according to the predictive formula:

1. Most widespread among languages (0-trace in S-RC rather than 0-RC);

implies:

2. Easiest to learn (predicts 0-trace in S-RC);

implies:

3. Quickest to develop (predicts 0-trace in S-RC exceeds 0-trace in 0-RC).

While the norms of standard Spanish insist on 0-trace in S-RC, the trace also occurs in the Spanish of some speakers, e.g.:

(4.184) Diario-aquí viene una mu- una niña - una girl que - una muchacha que [ella siempre nos anda poniendo en trouble]
(AA 12M211LPSS)

Recall that AA is a Spanish-preferent speaker with high resistance to English (section 3.4.1 (1)).

There are analogs for the construction in the history of English and Western Romance;

(4.185) les beles dames courtoises que [eles ont il amies ou il avoc leur barons].
(the beautiful ladies that [they went as friends or with their lords])
(Jespersen, 1965, section 5.6)

from Old French, and

(4.186) a knight there was . . . that [fro the time that he first began to ride out, he loved Chivalry] . . .
(Chaucer, cited by Jespersen, op. cit.)

In the example, the syntactic distance of the trace from the main clause (a clause intervening) would make the subject of the RC less accessible than one in which the trace directly follows the main clause. However, the example continues the Old English tradition of relativizing complete clauses (with traces) for all syntactic relations, i.e., subject, object, possessive. The earlier RM with this function was the, later replaced by that, e.g.:

(4.187) Jacob, the [our lord showed him his nebschaf (= face)] . . .
(Jespersen, op. cit.)

The tradition appears to survive in current vernaculars only with the RM which, as in Shakespeare's example:

(4.188) I had daughters which [they (= the daughters) will (= wanted to) make an obedient (=submissive) father].
(King Lear I.4.255)

As mentioned above, which is not used by the speakers. Furthermore, in all cases counted in Table 4.17 the trace immediately followed the main clause, e.g.:

(4.189) I had a teacher that [she only knew English]
(LA 12F200FXSS)

In all there are 12 cases. Of these, 10 follow indefinite heads, marked by either a or a demonstrative, and represent referents mentioned for the first time. The examples above (4.181-189) illustrates this tendency.

Table 4.18 below shows that the distribution of trace among S-RCs, according to the informational status of the head, is quite striking, compared to the distribution of S-RCs without trace.

Table 4.18 Percentage of Trace and No Trace S-RCs According to Informational Status of Head.

	Informational Status of Head		
Percentage of	DEF	INDEF	N
0 (i.e., No) Trace	.57	.43	130
Pronominal Trace	.17	.83	12

Counted as DEF (definite) were all heads marked by the, or otherwise referring to a referent previously mentioned. All other heads were classified as INDEF. These include a great many examples of singulars marked by a and this (unstressed), and plurals marked by 0, some, or these (unstressed). S-RCs with traces show a strong preference for INDEF that S-RCs, as a whole, are indifferent to.

The use of trace S-RCs is strongly reminiscent of the possessive RCs introducing *proper names* of referents whose head nouns are indefinite, new information.

Similarly, the issue of possible context appears in the comparison of trace S-RCs, e.g.:

(4.190) there was this guy *that* [*he* went to his teacher] . . .
(CS 11M10635SS)

and

(4.191) there was two sh- cholos (0?) [*they* were smoking] . . .
(YL 11F205LFSS)

or

(4.192) they have big firecrackers (0?) [they break bottles n all that]

or

(4.193) there was a man (0?) [*he* fell in the water].
(AP 12M200PXSE)

In all these cases, relativization of the second clause is possible. The trace S-RC indicates a syntactic link between the kind of two-clause sequence exemplified above and the more common type without the trace, e.g.:

(4.194) there's a lady *that* [$\underline{0}_i$ went on a roller coaster]
(ES 11M10635SS)

where $\underline{0}_i$ symbolizes absence of the trace.

These three structures suggest the following order of development:

1. there was a man [*he* fell in the water] (independent clause);
2. there was a man *that* [*he* fell in the water] (binding with *that*);
3. there was a man *that* $\underline{0}_i$ [fell in the water] ("normal" relativization with trace deletion .

However, it must be noted that stage 1 does not cease to be used as 2 and 3 develop. At stage 2. that has the appearance of a conjunction conjoining two sentences of independent status. There are other structures which support this analysis of that at stage 2, e.g.:

(4.195) N in Apocalypse Now there's a China (= Spanish for Asian woman) n [she throws a grenade]
(DD 11M200LLSS)

or

(4.196) there's this guy n [I miss him].
(IG 11F200PXSE)

In DD's example the conjunction n (= and) conjoins two independent clauses. The second clause is a possible context for S-RC. In IG's example n conjoins two independent clauses, and the second is a possible context for O-RC (i.e., . . . this guy that [I miss]).

In one case, the conjunction n then is used to conjoin clauses, in which O-RC is possible:

(4.197) we got one of these long sticks n then [you hang your clothes on there].
(JR 12M200FXSE)

This structure suggests: one of these long sticks that/0 [you hang your clothes on].

In all these cases, speakers had well developed RC structures for definite heads. The indeterminacy of whether to relativize or not is largely restricted to sentences which add new information about a referent newly introduced in an immediately preceding clause. Hesitation is apparent in utterances like the following:

(4.198) I know a teacher - that was - that was - she's a drama teacher.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

Bickerton (1977) notes that for L_2 and the oldest (observable) L_1 Hawaiian English-speaking generation, structures of this same type are the least likely to be relativized (p. 131), e.g.:

(4.199) wel yu get dakta $\underline{0}$ $\underline{0}_i$ kam (i.e., there are doctors that come).

Bickerton reports that $\underline{0}_i$ is typical of all RCs in L1 Hawaiian English (which he identifies as a creole). Thus, he claims that the structure uttered by an L2 Filipino speaker:

(4.200) awl diz bigshat pipl $\underline{0}$ [dei gat plenti mani] de don kea (= all these bigshots who $\underline{0}_i$ have lots of money don't care)

would have $\underline{0}_i$ in L1 Hawaiian English:

(4.201) awl diz bigshat pipl $\underline{0}$ $\underline{0}_i$ [gat plenti mani] dei don kea (p. 288)

Four of the five examples given by Schumann (1980), in which traces are found (all are possible contexts for S-RC), also follow the new referent + new information in possible RC type, e.g.:

(4.202) . . . there was a the doctor the doctor the doctor [he came from]. . .
(Giuseppe, 84m, Italian, p. 128)

According to Schumann, Giuseppe varies between the trace and a relativizer in his overall output. However, Schumann does not distinguish the heads of these RCs by their information status (e.g., definite or indefinite). Schumann actually suggests that the trace, in examples such as (4.202) above, is a substitute for a relative marker, i.e., for that or who. Another example from five-year old Spanish speaker, Cheo, is similar:

(4.203) He got a friend [he speaks Spanish]
(Schumann, op. cit. p. 128)

Cheo variably uses an RM in positions where it is obligatory in SE, according to Schumann. Cheo's sentence above is quite equivalent to the following sentence by OS, in which both the RM and the trace are extant:

(4.204) I have *a* friend that-m *that* [*he* m *he* know only English] . . .
(OS 12M10825SS)

As Schumann notes, although without distinguishing the different informational types of head + RC, the notion that RC development proceeds through stages, from 0 marker to marking by *personal* pronoun, to marking by *relative* marker, is quite problematic. The alternative he raises as an afterthought (p. 129), that use of the personal pronoun is an alternative *strategy* to relativization, is more supportable for the speakers in our study.

First, the personal pronoun is not demonstrably a sign of *relativization* rather than of an *independent* (and complete) clause, but only of a *possible*- and *not obligatory*-context, for *any* of the speakers. Second, the relative marker may co-occur with the *pronoun* (which has been here called a *trace*), as if it simply conjoined two independent clauses. Unlike Hawaiian English, the evidence suggests that the speakers learn to apply *deletion* of the trace of these RCs, rather than already omit the trace *before* the RM *that* develops. The following structure is not found:

(4.205) I have a friend *0* [0_i *know only English*]

(except in the single case by an AOA 5 speaker (example 4.166 above).

While it may be the case that at earlier stages of RC acquisition, structures of this nature are common, there is no evidence for an analysis of the type:

(4.206) I have a friend *he* [$\underline{0}_i$ know only English]

where *he* is not a trace, but a substitute RM. For the development of Hawaiian English, Bickerton argues at great length that relativization does not develop through conjunction of clauses, but rather that somehow (intentionally, he suggests, without further discussion) subordination is already present before any marking is seen (pp. 327ff). However, the case he considers involves a head marked by *the*/*that* (*da*, phonetically), i.e.:

(4.207) *da* gai *0* [0_i gon lei di vainil fo mi] bin kwot mi prais (i.e., the guy *who* [was gonna lay vinyl for me] quoted me a price)

The crux of Bickerton's argument involves the impossibility of *the*/*that* marking an NP (i.e., *gai*) when the NP is *new* information (not previously mentioned) and is *not* the head of RC. We cannot pursue the point for the way *the* is used in Hawaiian English (Bickerton does not analyze *da*/*di* in Hawaiian English). However, it is true of SE. This use of *the* is referred to as *homophoric* by Halliday & Hasan (definite only by reference to the immediately following RC, 1976, p. 73). In the present analysis, *all* heads marked by *the* were counted as *definite*. For *indefinites*, including the S-RCs with traces, the *conjunction* stage of development has been shown to be supported by the evidence.

To conclude, all speakers who used recognizable RCs produced structures which are possible in monolingual English vernaculars. In most cases, these are also SE structures. However, *who* is less common than *that* (as in the available evidence of adult monolingual English vernaculars, e.g., Cofer, *op*. *cit*.). SE structures which are not common in the vernaculars are not used by the speakers, e.g., the Latin relative clause structure of *Prep. + wh-form* is not used, nor is *which* as a relativizer either in standard or vernacular ways. Beyond this, there is evidence that RCs modifying indefinite referents are developed though conjunction of independent clauses. Both the RC and main clause strategies, with or without a conjunction (e.g., n), are used by the speakers to link a clause in which a referent is first mentioned to an immediately following clause presenting new information about the referent. The occasional occurrence of a trace in the RC betrays its conjoined origin. These strategies are evidently shared in both English and Spanish.

Discourse strategies for the use of syntax, rather than syntactically autonomous principles of sentence structure, offer the most satisfactory explanations of the distribution of frequencies of syntactic structures. These strategies appear to be independent of the particular language. They reflect language-independent properties of larger discourse structures, rather than universal properties of sentence structure.

4.5.6 Pronoun-Copying

The phenomenon of Pronoun-Copying (PC) has already been encountered in this report with reference to RCs placed before the main verb (section 4.5.3 (3)). An example is:

(4.208) My older brother that ['s a runner] he's twenty two.
S-H S-RC PC Pred.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

The underlined pronoun, he, refers to the prior NP my older brother. According to the SE norm, the coreferent pronoun, he, would not occur, cf.:

(4.209) My older brother that ['s a runner] 0 is twenty two.
S-H S-RC Pred.

In section 4.5.3 (3), it was noted that the PC tends to appear where the subject would otherwise be separated from the predicate, as in the SSB type of structure in (4.208) above. The result is that the clause following the RC is complete on its own, e.g., *he's* twenty two. This completeness follows from a property shared by both SE and most vernaculars, that *subjects* and *objects* must be expressed in independent clauses in most contexts. Thus, *he's twenty two* is complete as an independent clause, but (*I*)*s twenty two* is not. The speakers all observe the SE norm, where subjects are required. Where the referent is recoverable from previous discourse, a *pronoun* alone is most frequently used. This is evident even in the speech of those children who are Spanish-preferent and have difficulty elsewhere in English, e.g., PQ (section 3.4.2 (1)):

(4.210) . . . *his father and his brother* doesn't (= didn't) know alre- still (= yet). He - *they* still doesn't (= didn't) know cause *they* work (= worked/were working) in another country so-so *they* (could) get more money for the family.
(PQ 12F20625SS)

In this segment from a narrative DU, the underlined pronouns, *they*, all refer to the referents of the initial NP, *his father and his brother*. They would be required according to SE and monolingual vernacular norms of most English communities. PQ's behavior conforms to those expectations, although there are many other norms for which she does not follow either the SE pattern or those of AOA 0-5 speakers, e.g., tense and modal marking exemplified here.

The obligatoriness of an expressed referent subject *pronoun* in the positions above, including an independent clause, the *because*- and purpose clauses (which may be also viewed as independent since they are evidently not movable for these speakers, cf. section 4.5.3 (1)), contrast with the freedom of pronounomission in Spanish, either standard or as spoken by the speakers, e.g.:

(4.211) un señor le decía a-a los de estos- a los señores, esos
que entierran pues que no se lo llevaran a - en - a
enterrarlo hasta que viniera su papa para que lo viera.
Y lo enterraron sin que su papá lo viera.
(PQ 12F20625SS)

The English translation below underlines those subject pronouns which would occur according to both SE and speaker norms but were expressed only by verb agreement in the Spanish original:

(4.212) a man told the-the men (= 0_i), the ones that do the
burying that (they = 0_i) shouldn't take him for burial
until his father (= 0_i) came so that (he = 0_i) could
see him. And (they = 0_i) buried him without his father
seeing him.

Thus, English shows more contexts for obligatory subject pronouns than Spanish. Even the Spanish-preferent speakers indicate absorption of this principle.

The inclusion of a subject pronoun following the S-H RC, however, goes beyond the SE norm. The following table indicates only a slight bilingual effect.

Table 4.19 Percentage of PC Following S-H RC by AOA Group.

AOA	% PC following S-H RC	N
1	0.53	17
4-5	0.80	10
6-8	0.63	8

The source of this effect is problematic. To begin with, it is known throughout monolingual English vernaculars, as discussed below. Therefore, these vernaculars provide a model to reinforce the PC, even if other factors are involved in its development. In this respect the case is similar to the development of inversion in EQW, discussed above.

The simplest developmental factor that could be aduced to the PC following S-H RC, on the basis of L_2 acquisition, is overgeneralization of subject pronoun occurrence in English. This is not convincing for several reasons. For one, this presumed overgeneralization does not affect RCs themselves, where it would produce a trace. It has already been shown that use of trace is quite restricted. Second, a possible model also exists in the Spanish of the speakers, so that transfer is also a possibility, e.g.:

(4.213) el que mete más goles [ése gana.]
S-H S-RC Pred.
(AA 12M211LPSS)

Here *ése* refers to the S-H of the RC. In such cases a demonstrative rather than a personal pronoun was used, e.g., *ése* rather than *él*. However, such cases were rare compared to S-H RCs which did not show PC in Spanish, e.g.:

(4.214) el que [lo vino a dejar] 0 dijo: vete pues.
S-H S-RC Pred.
(LQ 12M112XXSS)

For some varieties of English it has been proposed that PC with S-H RCs is an instance of a more general English rule of *left-dislocation*. Since left-dislocation is widely used by the speakers, as it applies to subject NPs, this possibility will be discussed immediately below.

4.5.6 (A) *Left-dislocation*. Left-dislocation, also called topicalization, has been used in the linguistic literature, to describe occurrence of a syntactic constituent to the left of the position it could occupy in the simplest equivalent sentence, e.g.:

(4.215) . . . these plates, she washes them . . .
(DM 11M200PXSS)

The NP these plates occurs to the left of its clause. It has an object relation to the verb washes. The pronoun them refers to the left-dislocated NP, these plates. This pronoun is called the pronoun copy.

An NP is left-dislocated if it immediately precedes a clause in which a pronominal reference is made to it, but does not belong to another clause. The referential pronoun in the following clause, is called pronoun copy if it refers to the left-dislocated NP.

As this process affects subject-NPs, it produces structures such as:

(4.216) My brother, he likes to get in fights with me.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

The left-dislocated NP my brother is the subject of the following clause. The PC he refers to that NP. In this structure he is often called an appositional (or resumptive) pronoun. It will be referred to as a subject copy (SC) hereafter.

This structure is well known in monolingual English vernaculars. It is considered nonstandard. Shuy et al. (1967) report a number of social correlates of SC in a study of the English spoken in Detroit. First, the left-dislocation of subjects is rarer than leaving the subject immediately before the verb. In few individuals does it approach the 50% level of possible contexts. For aggregated social groups it rarely reaches 30% of possible contexts. Nevertheless, it stratifies by SES so that it is more frequent among working-class speakers than among middle-class speakers. Also it is either equally or more frequent among children than among adolescents and adults, for all SES, and equally or more frequent among Blacks than Whites of the same SES. Among the middle classes, children and adults, Blacks and Whites, converge at the lowest frequency of occurrence. For working class speakers it is both an age and ethnic marker in frequency of occurrence. Although study of subject left-location is rare in later sociolinguistic studies of other vernaculars, Shuy et al.'s findings correspond to the impressions of observers of other dialects.

In the study of L_2 and L_1 speakers of Hawaiian English, Bickerton (1976, 1977) treats SC in some degree of detail. First, he notes a wide range of frequencies of SC among L_2 speakers, from 76% to non-occurrence. As a group, the Filipino speakers show a much higher use of SC than the Japanese speakers. This holds true of almost all speakers in the sample. Although this may suggest a differential influence of L_1 on L_2, Bickerton does not pursue this in his report.

In discussing L1 speakers, the report suggests that SC develops in Hawaiian English in a way independent of the norms of other varieties of English, although some speakers exhibit uses of SC found in other varieties. Crucial to the claim of independent development of SC in Hawaiian English (or at least those varieties which are most distinct from SE) is the claim that in Hawaiian English PC tends to occur with nondefinite and contrastive NPs, whereas in many colloquial English varieties of English only definite and/or generic NPs allow PC (Bickerton, 1977, pp. 110ff). Furthermore, it is claimed that all NPs with non-definite reference must induce SC in those varieties of Hawaiian English where (colloquial? or standard) English varieties do not exert counter-influence. Thus, for Hawaiian English, Bickerton proposes that

(4.217) *some guys they* drink beer
SC

is favored over SC absence with the indefinite referent, *some guys* (*op. cit*., p. 266), whereas

(4.218) *some guys they* arrived yesterday

is held to be non-occurrent in colloquial English (*op*. *cit*., p. 110).

These proposals are interesting in that they suggest possible distinctions to examine in the present study with respect to SC. At the same time, they are problematic for several reasons:

1. The claims about colloquial English are intuitive, not based on empirical data.
2. The categories of information status proposed for left-dislocated NPs are difficult to apply in certain cases since they often depend on interpretation of the speaker's intentions rather than what s/he actually says, or on complex, and seemingly *ad* *hoc*, interpretation of the texts (cf. Bickerton, 1977, pp. 257ff).

In examining SC use among the speakers of the present study, many of the insights of the Hawaiian English study are used as guides. At the same time, the problems noted above are kept in mind.

In sum, 50 clear cases of SC were found among the data. Excluded were numerous cases in which hesitation and repair intervene between the NP and the possible (?) SC:

(4.219) *My mom's* like - *she* don't like me like loitering.
(DM 11M200PXSS)

This case is excluded, even though the NP *my mom* preceding the repair was mentioned for the first time and the referent of *she* would not be interpretable without retention of the NP. A similar and even more distant (from the NP) case of possible SC, not included, is:

(4.220) One day, my friend got a big weight like this, and *the busdriver he*- we took the wrong bus, and *he* started screaming at us . . .
(JR 12M200PXSE)

Again, *the busdriver*, mentioned for the first time, is not rementioned after the repair, but remains the referent of *he* in the last cited clause.

Also excluded are obvious cases of ellipsis, e.g.:

(4.221) IV: Who ran over her head!?
LA: *a drunk man*, *he* got in a car . . .

In (4.221), *a drunk man* is an expected elliptical response to *who*. The predicate *ran over her head* is not repeated, but another clause immediately follows with a subject pronoun referent to the immediately preceding NP. It cannot be claimed that LA's utterance in isolation would be intonationally distinct from a "true" SC construction.

In list-like sequence, SC cannot be so easily dismissed. These are counted as SCs:

(4.222) . . . *the oldest one*, *she's* married . . . *the next one*, R, *she* - *she* works in - you know that deer?
(AL 12F10724SE)

or

(4.23) My sister works-in this - at Chris n Pitts, this restaurant. *My brother he* works at this meat place . . .
(HF 12F10545SS)

Although the underlined NPs are mentioned for the first time, according to Bickerton they are definite and presupposed, since they refer to kin (Bickerton, 1977, p. 111).

More problematic for presupposition is:

(4.224) My friend Tom he told me that he doesn't have a father . . .
(WS 11M205XCC)

Whereas one might presuppose a friend, it is not clear that the addresee(s) can presuppose that WS has a friend Tom. Perhaps the peers were already aware of this friend. The interviewer was not. This first mention may be definite but there is no evidence that it was presupposed.

Clear cases of indefinites are found before SC as well:

(4.225) a boy he was trying to cross the street.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

or

(4.226) this girl across the street, she has this house
(EP 11F200FXSE)

where first mentions of non-presupposed and indefinite-marked referents are evident.

Non-specific indefinites are also found, e.g.:

(4.227) some (stressed) boys, they like hang around together
(AO 11F200XXEE)

spoken by monolingual AO, or

(4.228) . . . like in the night yk, like men they play cards n dominoes.
(YL 11F205LFSS)

The NP men is not clearly generic. It is equivalent to some men. Similarly,

(4.229) little kids like us, they throw rocks at him n everything.
(VL 10f10535SS)

Clear cases of definites are also found:

(4.230) *the Mexican*, *he* tried to pull out a tree but he couldn't . . .
(VM 12F10555SS)

or,

(4.231) *the lady*, she said . . .
(IG 11F200PXSE)

A formal breakdown of all SC referents is as follows:

	N
1. *the* + NP (e.g., *the* cops, *the* movie)	12
2. *possessive adj.* + NP (e.g., *my* brother, *her* chain)	24
3. *proper* name (e.g., Raul, god)	4
4. indefinite specific + NP (e.g., *a* boy, *this* guy)	7
5. indefinite non-specific + NP (*some* boys, *0* people)	3
Total	50

If the first three categories are considered *definite*--regardless of their status as presupposed, established or first mention--the majority of SCs are definite (80%). However, the dearth of indefinites does not of itself indicate a preference of SC for "definites," but rather reflects the non-preferent status of *indefinites* as *subjects*. As noted above in section 4.5.3 (3), the preference for newly introduced NPs is as *objects*, either followed by an RC with a *subject* or *possessive* trace, or by an independent clause in which the subject or possessive adds new information about the now established referent. The discussion here simply presents evidence that new referents may also be introduced as subjects; as such they may induce SC.

In some cases, the decision whether a new referent is subject or object seemed arbitrary to analysis. These cases were not included. Examples include the following:

(4.232) uhm you know my friend, he's crazy . . .
(WS 11M205FXCC)

or,

(4.233) you know my uncle, he acts like JG.
(CS 10M10635SS)

This way of introducing new referents may be analyzed as subject or object depending on the transcription-reflected decision to represent you know as subject + verb or as an unanalyzed segment yk. Intonationally the entire sequence appears to be a blend of the two analyses:

(1). you know my uncle + (2). my uncle he acts like JG

The sequence you know is unstressed and was transcribed as yk. The yk itself appears as a shortened version of y' know what?, an attention-getter that offers to take the floor in order to give further information, e.g., as a sentence, a DU, etc. (cf. Sacks, 1974). The shortened form yk does not offer but instead claims the floor directly. This use of yk is a formula (stereotyped). It also occurs before other DU openers:

(4.234) yk there's some girl, her name is E. One day . . .
(JR 12M200FXSE)

It may follow rather than precede the newly-introduced NP.

(4.235) My brother yk once he stayed up . . .
(VM 12F10555SS)

Even when yk functions as a filler, providing a noise which still claims the floor, it appears before the beginning of a clause, e.g.:

(4.236) . . . n then the man was yk he was following them .
(VM 12F10555SS)

Here yk precedes a repair which re-begins the clause. Surprisingly perhaps, yk was not observed elsewhere, e.g., he was yk crazy or I gave him yk a dollar or he was going yk is going to school, etc.

A yk analysis increases the number of left-dislocated referents, e.g., (yk) my friend, he's crazy. In addition, it increases the number of newly introduced subject referents. Indeed, most referents introduced either this way or as clear left-dislocated subjects are newly introduced, in that they have not been mentioned in any prior discourse.

This observation is not only true of the present sample, but also the examples of left-dislocated subjects cited by Shuy et al. (op. cit.), and most of the Hawaiian English examples cited by Bickerton (op. cit.). Nevertherless, previous mentions do recur before SC on occasion. In the Hawaiian English data, the cases were so rare that Bickerton proposed that speakers who used it were innovating. A crucial example is:

(4.237) you know (= yk?) these two haole girls that was riding a horse - you know (= yk!), the pig was moving in like this towards, ah, what you call, Kahili - the two girls they xxx . . .
(Bickerton, p. 258)

As Bickerton notes, there is a change of subject (from the pig) in the re-introduction of the referent (the two girls) before the SC. Bickerton labels this re-introduction of a referent into subject position, a resumed subject. Further terminology can be introduced to distinguish a resumed subject from a chain subject. A chain subject is one which is identical in reference to the subject of the preceding independent clause, e.g.:

Subject
(4.238) a. . . . my cousin was barely coming
b. Then a girl came — new
c. n she goes xxx — chain
d. she was gna rip the door — chain
e. so she could go in — chain
f. but my cousin just closed the door — resumed
g. n then she got - she was scared — resumed
h. she closed all the windows . . . — chain
(DM 11M200PXSS)

These structures are common in all DUs, but most extended in narrative. Note that in g the resumed subject is not lexically filled with the girl, but rather pronominal, she. Also note that in f, the resumed subject is not followed by SC. However, it is obligatory case that SCs refer either to new or resumed subjects; they do not occur after chain subjects. Chain subjects are almost invariably pronouns themselves, and in a few cases are unexpressed:

(4.239) a. this guy had a gun
b. n 0 was gna shoot another guy
(MR 12F10035SS)

A simple eyecheck revealed that chains with 0 subjects are rare and short, compared with subject pronoun chains.

New subjects differ from chain and resumed subjects in one important way. Whereas chain and resumed subjects are necessarily bound to the DU in which they first occur, there is no clear constraint on new subjects. Sometimes, when a topic is hot, the same referent may pass through several successive DUs. In narratives, this is often the domain of I, e.g., one time I . . . and another time I...

Specific indefinite subjects are a subcategory of new subject. They specifically presuppose that the addressee has no prior access to the subject in the DU (cf. Wald, 1981a). This is the effect of marking an NP with a, some or this (unstressed). Seven of the ten examples of SC are marked by this. In all these occurrences the new referent goes on to recur frequently as a chain or resumed subjects, more frequently than other subjects. This indicates that the SC has an anticipatory use as well. Although the use of this, even without SC, has this function, with new definite subjects the characteristics of recurrence is commonly observed, e.g.:

(4.240) when my brother was a little boy, my aunt she got mad at him.
(EP 11F200FXSE)

Although my brother is introduced first in EP's DU, my aunt marked by SC is clearly destined to recur as a subject. Although, in this case my aunt is new to the DU, and indeed to the entire conversation, the resumed (definite) subject also exhibits this property. For example,

(4.241) . . . these girls, they think they're all studious n then they always blame everything on us . . .
(JR 12M200PXSE)

In an example from the vicarious DU, a movie description, the chaining following SC of definite referents is amply illustrated in scenes (same background set) in which one character does the most activity, e.g.:

(4.242) well, the dog he sorta like was scratching the wall . . . then the father he was-he was sharpening his ax . . . n then her mother she was in there . . .
(EP 11F200FXSE)

Each occurrence of SC is directly followed by a chain. In its most syntactic form, the SC + chain structure is seen in possible contexts for S-H RC (section 4.5.5):

(4.243) n then these big guys [they're real old-older than us] they were in a gang . . .
(MC 12M200PXEE)

When that-conjunction intervenes between the referent and the SC, the SC becomes a trace (section 4.5.5):

(4.244) My other sister that [she came fourteen this month] she wash the dishes.
(CB 11F10625SS)

Finally, when the trace is omitted, the third subject becomes the second subject of the chain (due to the criterial subject of independent clause):

(4.245) this guy this - that [0 owned the hotel], he - he went to Bakersfield.
(JP 12M200XXEE)

If there is any further condensation, the chain disappears entirely, e.g.:

(4.246) My brother that 's[older than me] is 16.
(MC 12M200PXEE)

or,

(4.247) the one that [spins it] tells what to do.
(AP 11M200PXSE)

In these cases, reduction to a single sentence is complete.

Schematically, the line of development suggested above is:

1. Subject Chain
   this guy [he owned the hotel] he went to B.

2. That-Conjunction
   this guy that [he owned . . .] he went . . .

3. Relativization
   this guy that [0 owned . . .] he went . . .

4. Central Embedding (=total submersion of the chain in 1.)
   this guy that [0 owned . . .] 0 went . . .

In the final analysis, SC appears to be an anticipatory device indicating the special status of subject-recurrence. In this function it appears to compete with or complement other devices, such as this, applied to indefinite specific referents. The process of relativization "bleeds" possible SC contexts. No evidence was uncovered to support differences in the function of SC for different AOAs. Only the overtness of the trace showed some sensitivity to AOA. In that case a Spanish analog was found (section 4.5.5).

For the major use of SC to mark a recurrent subject, no analog for SC was found for Spanish independent clauses. Left-dislocation of subjects are discernible without SC in a few constructions:

1. When the subject occurs to the left of a subordinate clause, followed by an attached main clause, e.g.:

(4.248) pues su chavalo, [hasta andaban] ni hacía nada en el salón por andar enamorando pues.
(AA 12M212LPSS)

(4.249) my sister [when she was eating] she was reading the book then . . .
(JS 12M205FXSE)

2. A subject pronoun, when expressed, is often clause-initial, e.g.:

(4.250) yo [cuando iba a la escuela] nomás se pasaba la calle y . . .
(CB 11F1025SS)

(4.251) *nosotros* [este sábado] vamos
(RR 11F1015SS)

(4.252) *Yo* [a veces que agarraba] no casi nunca agarraba . . .
(AA 12M212LPSS)

This is usually the case when the subject is *new* to the DU or *resumed* (i.e., a *switch* subject). Otherwise, there is no subject at all expressed (cf. Silva-Corvalan, 1977, p. 37).

In a study of word order patterns of a sample of adolescent and adult Mexican-Americans in West Los Angeles, Silva-Corvalan reports that both pronoun and NP subjects have a great tendency to occur as switch subjects, equally for all ages. However, pronouns also have a great tendency to *precede* the verb (SV pattern) while full NPs do not show this tendency. This preferential positioning of the subject pronoun is the Spanish feature most suggestive of SC.

Outside of general left dislocation, Spanish structural support for SC is minimal. On the other hand, SC does follow a pattern which is evidently easily learned and maintained through the age group of this study. It differs from the standard norm, but remains problematic as a natural developmental phenomenon vs. a vernacular norm, for which stability is expected.

Of the various syntactic patterns in discourse attended to by this study, it is one of the least well documented in detail for other American dialects.

4.5.7 *Conclusions About Syntax*

In syntax, much more than in morphology, the possibility of less than full development, and the transfer of development level from Spanish to English, is evident. However, full development is sometimes problematic because of possible differences between SE and community norms. For purposes of discussion, the following is organized according to source issues.

SE norms. SE syntactic norms that are not identical to English vernacular norms rarely occur. For all speakers this includes the Latin pattern of relativizing the object of a preposition by introducing the RC with Prep. + wh-RM (e.g., in which). This also extends to possessive RCs, so that whose does not occur. Certain non-temporal subordinators do not occur, such as (al)though + clause. Instead, though is used as an adverb placed after the clause. There is no evidence of subordinaton with certain conjunctions, e.g., because, until, unless.

For most speakers, that rather than who, introduces subject-RCs. Speakers favor multiple negation, some evidently to the exclusion of standard negation. Both of these patterns show gradient development by AOA. This indicates that there is at least the possibility that the equivalent SE norms are also used by the community.

Community norms. Until we have comparative evidence from mature early AOA (0-5) English speakers, it is not possible to distinguish L_1 developmental processes from community norms, although it is possible to make the comparison with SE as above.

In the meantime, the possibility of positing community norms depends on comparing the norms of AOA 0 speakers with norms which are known to be widespread in mature non-standard varieties of English. This includes multiple negation, subject pronoun-copying, the use of that to introduce relative clauses with possessive traces, and subject/auxiliary inversion in embedded wh-questions. Of these, only subject pronoun-copying does not have a Spanish base to reinforce the English vernacular norm.

Transference. The possibility of direct transference on the individual level depends crucially on knowing the mature community norm. As explained above, only gradience of AOA here presents evidence that some constructions found in both the Spanish and the English of the speakers, but not in other vernaculars are transferred. The constraints on multiple negation (to following the verb) indicate the possibility of transfer. The use of tell, say for 'ask' (cf. Spanish decir) is also a possible transfer, as is the use of subject/tense inversion in questions (the common element in English subject/auxiliary and Spanish subject/predicate inversion). It is never clear that these are individual transfers rather than norms which have already been established through convergence of English and Spanish on the community level, or at least among bilingual members of the community.

It is significant that where Spanish and SE share norms, but some English vernaculars do not, the SE pattern appears also to be the community English pattern. This is most striking in the embedded yes/no question structure.

Where SE norms and vernacular Spanish norms diverge, but vernacular Spanish and English norms converge, the vernacular English norms are found at the expense of SE norms. The major examples were discussed above under SE norms.

When the norms of vernacular Spanish and English, and SE, are identical, or quite similar, development through transfer is possible. This is the general case for conjunction and subordination. The basic relative clause structure is the same in Spanish and English. Speakers of LOR 4 +, AOA 0-8, all show uses which are common to the three sets of norms (vernacular Spanish, vernacular English, SE). Other types of subordination show similar development in Spanish and English, including all movable temporals and other clauses. However, the more extended Spanish use of que as a clause introducer, whether relative (obligatory), subordinator (with most connectives) or simple conjunction, obscures the distinction between conjoined and subordinate clauses in Spanish, and makes the Spanish speech seem more advanced in subordination than the English.

Developmental. As mentioned above, transitional developmental phenomena are problematic. In individual cases, idiosyncrasies of particular speakers may indicate instabilities subject to further development, since they have no social reinforcement in the speech behavior of age-mates. This may apply to EP's over-use of conjunction (e.g., so, but) + n then, AP's relative over-use of the conjunction (n)after for (n)then, and various uses of n then to mark transitions between preceding subordinate and following main clauses.

The rarity of trace in subject relative clause with indefinite heads may indicate the transitory character of this construction. Still problematic is whether possible context distinguishes the development of subject-head relative clauses as a strategy preferred to chaining main clause with identical subjects. Features of the growuth or organization of discourse, and even the principles on which such organization is based are still relatively new to study, and unclear for either mature vernaculars or the standard written language.

In sum, the comparing of the norms used by the speakers with SE often allows multiple interpretation. The issue of further development remains moot without consideration of more mature (in age) speakers of early AOA. This problem also applies to the issue of sources. Despite all this, it is quite clear that differences from SE norms are much more widespread among speakers in syntax than in morphology, and the possibility of higher norming criteria, appropriate for age 12 rather than age 7, is available.

CHAPTER 5. ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY INTERVIEWS

5.0 Orientation

This chapter discusses the linguistic behavior of speakers exhibited during the LPI sessions, and compares it with the linguistic behavior discussed in Chapter 4. At the heart of the issue are the conclusions that can be drawn about the linguistic abilities of the speakers on the basis of LPAIs, as currently designed and used. Within this issue, the following questions have arisen:

1. What is the relation of tested language proficiency to language abilities displayed in spontaneous speech? This is a form of concurrent validity which seeks to relate behavior in test situations to some co-variable, in order to understand in what way test behavior is generalizable to behavior in other situations, e.g., in natural settings, in the classroom (cf. Clark, 1975, p. 11ff; Jones, 1975, p. 11ff; Davies, 1977, p. 5ff). One important covariable examined in the Gillmore & Dickerson (1979) and Ulibarri *et al*. (1980) studies was tested achievement in English reading and math. The results were discussed in Chapter 1. As pointed out by Ulibarri *et al*. (1981), explanation of that covariation is complex, since there was no control for educational treatments of different students. For example, the treatment given to students already labelled as *limited* (by whatever criteria) before the study began, may have been different in different schools, perhaps in a self-fulfilling way lowering their English reading achievement scores by lowering expectations and treatment in English reading. Those studies did not attempt to establish concurrence between tested language and spontaneous language, but rather between different LPAIs, using different core linguistic criteria (and without much successful concurrence), and between different LPAIs and achievement tests (the latter considered a test of *predictive* validity, i.e., does an LPAI predict academic achievement?).

The present study's interest in linguistic concurrence across situations (test and spontaneous) follows from our concern with developing academic achievement from what the speaker already knows, as demonstrated in spontaneous speech. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, both linguistic and social factors determine language choice. Spanish-preferent speakers, especially of AOA 9+, may exhibit under-development of community norms for English, or they may refuse to speak in English altogether (case of SO), suggesting that they have not developed spontaneous English speech at more than a minimal level. For cases like SO the question of concurrence of tested and spontaneous English does not arise at all. However, the fact that she did produce enough English in the LPI to be quantifiable shows that her language choice can be controlled in test situations. For most speakers, we have ample evidence of spontaneous English as well as LPI data. For them, exploration of concurrence--to what extent LPAIs may reveal what they know and actually use in spontaneous speech situations--can be conducted. The question becomes the effect of the test situation on their linguistic behavior.

As noted in Chapter 1, the relation of this test behavior to language abilities on one hand, and language proficiency on the other, is mediated by both the elicitation procedures of the LPAI and the scoring system. This leads to a second question:

2. What is the relation of different core linguistic features to each other? This is actually a question of the systematicity and integrity of core linguistic features in the development of linguistic systems. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 4, section 4.3), it would greatly simplify matters if observation of one linguistic feature predicted the systematic use of another, and a scale of development could be derived, beginning with a feature indicating a high level of development (called fluent according to appropriate norming criteria, e.g., 3S for second graders, but perhaps past modals for sixth or seventh graders according to AOA 0 norms) and successively selecting features further down the scale until a developed feature is encountered. Indeed, this is the vision of natural order studies as applied to test technology. However, natural order has only been developed for a small number of features and has problems of cross-language and cross-community comparison, in addition to the low ceiling it establishes, and the crudeness of its analytical procedures.

There is current agreement that there is not sufficient knowledge about L_2 development to devise an LPAI on a single scale, if this is indeed possible. No currently used LPAI has such a simple scalar design. On the contrary, we have seen in Chapter 1 (section 1.2) that different multi-scale models, emphasizing different types and combinations of core linguistic features (Table 1.1) produce non-comparable results (Ulibarri *et al.*, 1980). It will be argued later that the subsequent conclusion--that intersubjective (by special training) holistic scoring alternatives (such as offered by the FSI-Foreign Service Institute procedures) are a satisfactory replacement for conflict of discrete point criteria--represents a retreat from accountability, is based on expediency, and may have undesirable social, as well as scientific, consequences if applied to public school students. On the contrary, the focus of the present study will be on covariation of linguistic features and on the limits on this covariation in the system of any particular speaker or group of speakers. The most obvious types of covariation to be examined proceed from the distinctions made between *morphology* and *syntax* in Chapter 4. The LPI generated data of both types which can be compared directly with spontaneous data.

The strategy of analysis in this chapter distinguishes the relation of *situational* to *linguistic* covariation. It is schematized as follows:

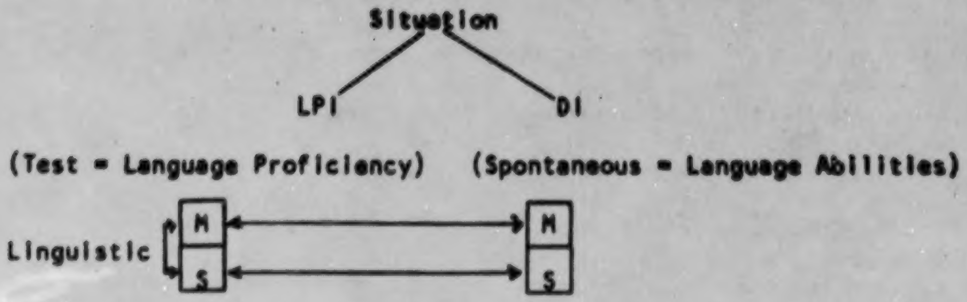
Situation
LPI
DI
(Test = Language Proficiency)
(Spontaneous = Language Abilities)
Linguistic
M
S
M
S

Figure 5.1 Scheme for analysis of situational and linguistic covariation for language proficiency and language abilities (LPI = Language Proficiency Interviews, DI = Discourse Interviews, M = morphology, S = syntax).

In the scheme the situations of LPI, associated with language proficiency, and DI, associated with language abilities, are distinguished. In each situation language behavior is analyzed distinctly for morphological and syntactic behaviors. When the same linguistic behavior is compared across situations, that linguistic behavior is viewed as a dependent variable tested for effect of situation. When morphology and syntax are compared within a situation, the issue is the covariability and predictability between the two components, or features thereof, as part of an integral language system. A priori, and given prior research, there is no compelling reason to suspect that there is a covariation between morphology and syntax. Yet, it will be seen that while morphology shows the clearer patterning by AOA, there is much reason to suspect that syntax, especially as it functions in discourse, is a more influential factor in academic achievement-oriented tasks such as reading comprehension and composition (organized writing of "discourse" units).

5.1 The LPI Situation

The basic features of the LPI and how it contrasts with the other situations, DI and PC, were outlined in Chapter 2 (section 3). Appendix B displays the actual test materials. Here we will look at further details of the LPI as an interactional situation, as a prelude to examining its effect on language behavior.

One way in which LPI differs from the other situations is that there are no peers. Therefore, sequences of two or more peers without the interviewer intervening are impossible. This simplifies the number of interactional possibilities in LPI (but does not indicate, as assumed by some educationalists, that the LPI is "structured" while the other situations are "unstructured," but simply that the interactional structure of the LPI is simpler, with the interviewer assuming greater control).

While no empirical studies of the interactional structure of test situations are available, there are structures that are much more salient in the LPI than in DI, and some of these structures are well documented in the study of classroom situations.

A salient conversational pattern in the test situation of the LPI context is commonly reported for classroom interaction between teacher and pupil, one which I will label the test cycle here (cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1978; Shuy, 1979; Duran, 1981; Wells, 1981).

(5.1) A: question - e.g., What's this?

B: response - e.g., A boy playing a guitar.

C: evaluation - e.g., OK, good, that's right, etc.

The test cycle may be the outline of a more elaborate exchange, for example, where A forestalls an evaluation and prompts instead, in order to obtain a further response, probably most often a substitute for or elaboration on the first response, e.g., "What else?" (elaboration), "I can't hear you/what?/huh?" (substitute). The evalution is not an explicitly required instruction in the manuals, but we found it commonly used to mark the end of one such episode and preceding another.

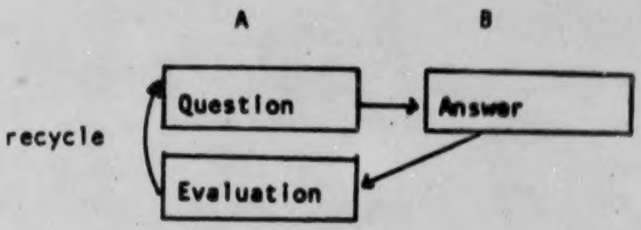

Figure 5.2 Flow schema of the test cycle.

The recycling of this sequence is exemplified below for one speaker. All other LPIs showed the same structure.

(5.2) Q IV: (showing LG panel 25 of the BSM) where's the king in this picture?
A LG: n the table.
E/Q IV: OK./Where's the dog in this picture?
A LG: eatin' the chicken
E/Q IV: Aha./N where's the king in this picture?
A LG: he's surprised.
E IV: OK. good.

The test cycle also occurs in the LAS story-retelling, where the speaker has a much longer turn, e.g.:

(5.3) IV: (after playing the LAS story on the auxiliary recorder) . . . OK, tell me the story.
LG: OK. Once a - once upon a time . . . that little one gave it - gave it to him a gold fr- flute.
IV: OK. That's very good.

The directive by the interviewer shows that Q actually refers to a request, whether as a question or an imperative. The test cycle is indifferent to language. It also occurs in the Spanish sections of LPI, e.g.:

(5.4) IV: . . . y ¿dónde está el rey en ese dibujo?
LG: Está en la mesa asustado, porque no sabe quién a -
quién agarró el pollo.
IV: Muy bien./Este, ¿por qué tiene él una corona?
LG: Mmm. Porque él (pause) lo eligieron como rey.
IV: Muy bien.

It is interesting to note that the interviewer was not explicitly instructed to use the test cycle. She may have imported it from her prior knowledge of the test culture, since her training was in psychology. However, it is also possible that the test cycle is such a pervasive feature of the educational culture that it is easily and early learned informally by most members of society. Maclure & French (1981) suggest that the test cycle is learned by pre-schoolers at home, on the basis of the Bristol study (cf. Wells, 1981), e.g.:

Father: What's that?
J: 'Abbit.
Father: A rabbit, that's right

(J, age 1:9)

Maclure & French's claim that this sequence is "commonly found in the home data (emphasis mine)" (p. 210) is not supported by quantitative data. Further analysis would be needed to reveal how frequent the test cycle is for different households and SES groups. Undoubtedly, the test cycle is much more intense in the LPI, and the test situations it represents, than in natural situations. Furthermore, the components of the test cycle are more complex in LPI than in other situations. This is demonstrable in two further types of behavior:

a. The answer,

b. The evaluation.

In some, but far from all, of the speakers' answers in the test cycle, the answer has a rising intonation associated with yes/no questions, followed by a response by the next speaker (as in simple question-answer adjacency pairs, cf. Schegloff _et al_., 1977). In (5.4) above we could actually mark LG's responses with a _?_ at the end to indicate this intonation. This pattern is quite familiar to teachers, and is exemplified in Rodriguez-Brown & Elias-Olivares' (1981) study of student-teacher classroom behavior, e.g.:

(5.5) Teacher: Jose, tell me where are these people going to sleep. (note subj./aux. inversion in EQW)
J: Here . . . living room?
Teacher: _OK_. _No_, in the bedroom.
(p. 42)

In this case the intonation of the answer may function as a _request for evaluation_ itself. As Labov (1970) has pointed out, the test cycle is initiated as a specific act, a _request for display of knowledge_. The tester is expected to know the answer to her own question by members of the test culture, hopefully including the addressee. An inappropriate answer to the question of the test cycle might be "Sorry, I don't know. I'm a stranger here myself," implying that the questionner actually didn't know the answer to her own question.

The question intonation indicates that the speaker _does_ understand the test cycle, but is not sure what answer the teacher wants. Uncertainty and insecurity on the part of the speaker can propel the evaluation, blending two separate structures:

A: wh-question
B: substantive answer + B: y/n question (rising intonation)
A: y/n response (evaluation).

for example:

A: where do they sleep?
B: in the livingroom + B: (do they sleep) in the livingroom?
A: No.

In principle, the consecutive aspects of the answer and the yes/no question could be formally expressed in answer + tag, e.g.:

(5.6) . . . the livingroom (falling intonation), right? (rising intonation)

But this is not attested to in the test cycle. Instead the form of the answer and the rising intonation are compressed into a simultaneous blend of answer + yes/no question intonation. This is indeed a special structure, specifically found in the test cycle. It is not found in the DIs, where speakers either tend to have special access to what they are saying--as their own personal knowledge--or expect confirmation of what they're saying by other participants--signalled by the tag, e.g., right (or Spanish, verdad) (cf. Labov & Fanshell, 1976, p. 100ff).

The propelling force of question intonation on the answer is a sufficient, but not a necessary, feature of the test cycle. There are indications that the evaluation is often ritualized, whether or not the answer explicitly requests it. In this respect, the teacher's "change" in evaluation in (5.5) above is interesting. First the teacher says O.K., as if to positively evaluate the answer. But then she says No, and corrects the answer, adding substance to her response to Jose's yes/no question intonation (i.e., bedroom).

The ritualization of the positive response cuts two ways. Minimally, it may simply be an attempt to express encouragement for the speaker's cooperation in the test situation. This kind of presumed positive reinforcement may explain further extensions of the test cycle, where at first it seems inappropriate. Thus, for example, Shuy (1979) indicates that it is not appropriate to use the test cycle for questions like "What's your name?," where all known cultures would normally expect all except the most helpless members of their own societies to know their own names. The basis of Shuy's indication is that the question "What's your name?" is appropriately identified as a *request for information*. It can be inappropriate if the requester has no right to ask, e.g., first question to a stranger, or should already know.

Indeed, in response to requests for names we did not find the speakers using question intonation, nor the interviewer evaluating these responses. However, the interviewer characteristically began evaluating after asking the speaker's age, e.g.:

(5.7) IV: . . . ¿cómo te llamas?
LG: LG.
IV: y ¿cuántos años tienes?
LG: Trece.
IV: *Muy bien*/lo que vamos a hacer . . .

In effect, *O.K.*, *muy bien* and other possible evaluative devices were used by the interviewer as a discourse sectioning device, not necessarily as evaluation. They separate the initial section, in which the interviewer obtains a name and age identification from the speaker, from the introduction of the actual testing. This use of the device then continues to section consecutive test-point questions in the testing. Simple apparent evaluative devices like *O.K.* are often used for these sectioning purposes, and are actually less commital to positive evaluation than they appear to be in more limited segments of discourses. Although it is clear that the speakers recognize the test cycle, it is unclear how cognizant they are of the ritualization of the evaluation. In Jose's case in (5.5) above, he may recognize that the O.K. is ritual, or he may suspect that the teacher was not as attentive to his answer as she appeared--assuming that he, like the other students, could easily answer the question. In the latter case, the message to Jose is that he has not lived up to expectations. This is far from the expression of encouragement that the teacher may have actually intended.

For these reasons, the test cycle needs further development as an analytical tool for cross-cultural study. It may well be the case that the test cycle is learned in its general form in infancy, and is known by all members of society from an early age, both within and outside of school contexts. Still, the details of how the test cycle is used in different contexts needs further study in order to determine whether it accomplishes its objectives and is based on the same interactional principles, understood by all participants in all contexts.

In LPI, those speakers who initially used yes/no question intonation in their answers tended to use them less as the test cycle recurred. They found that the evaluation tended to be predictably positive and be followed by a next question. This is because the interviewer did not criticize or "correct" answers. This is analogous to the written test in which the writer communicates only with an invariant message recorded on paper. The question intonation disappeared for the story-retelling, where it could not possibly adjust to the length of the recitation.

The major purpose of this section has been to discuss the severe interactional constraints placed on LPI. It is suggested that these constraints, in the form of the test cycle, are general to test situations, and contribute to a situation which is interactionally distinct from the DIs, or other contexts encouraging spontaneous speech.[1]

There are other constraints in LPI. The topics are entirely controlled by the LPAIs, as administered by the interviewer. When the speakers use question intonation in their responses, they overtly signal that they expect that the interviewer has more knowledge of the topic than they do themselves.

5.2 Language Choice in LPI

One further constraint, which exceeds anything found in the DIs, is the rigidity of language choice. Without exception, the speakers behave as if they have no choice but to respond in the language of the test, if they can, and they give much evidence of cooperating to the extent that they can. In contrast to the language preference patterns of DI-1, PC, and even DI-2, the socialization of the entire sample into the test situation, by allowing language choice to be made for them, is striking.

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[1] This issue is relevant to the notion of the ecological validity of test situations, i.e., "are the setting and circumstances of the language assessment procedures those closely resembling such communicative settings as occur in the child's culture so as to ensure appropriate sampling of the child's communicative competence?" (NIE . . . Title VI, p. 5). Certainly the behavior exhibited by the speakers in the present study indicate familiarity with and acceptance of the test situation. However, questions have been raised about interpretation of the details of the "ecologically valid" test cycle. Further questions will be raised later about the effect of the test situation on communicative competence, or according to the terminology used here, language abilities on the core linguistic and discourse levels.

It is important to note that the interviewer was unfamiliar with the speakers, as they came to her in turn, nor did she know their proficiency labels in either language, or whether they could speak either language or not. She was instructed to always administer the tests in Spanish first. There were several reasons for this: First, since it was observed in the earlier sessions that most speakers of AOA 0-5 showed English-preference, putting Spanish first was intended to make it more prominent. Second, since the content of the Spanish and the English tests are extremely similar, this was a possible aid to comprehension, enabling Spanish-preferent speakers to have something to say in English. For example, the Spanish and English versions of the LAS story differed primarily in the _adjective_ + _noun_ combinations used to identify referents. Thus, one referent was identified as _una giganta morada y graciosa_ 'a funny purple giant,' but in the English version as _a silly old monster_. In rare cases the effect of the Spanish version was seen in the English version in substituting _giant_ for _monster_. Further aspects of this influence will be discussed later.

Of the six HLS-N, non-Spanish, five asserted that they only knew English, e.g.:

(5.8) IV: ¿Cómo te llamas?
JP: JP
IV: y ¿cuántos años tienes?
JP: (chuckle) I only speak English.

The sixth, KR at Site 2, attempted the Spanish and gave evidence of some comprehension, even though his HLS reported only English. His answers showed a dual-lingual pattern, answering Spanish with English, but at the outset they were accurate, e.g.:

(5.9) IV: . . . (pointing to BSM panel) ¿qué quiere el perro que haga el rey?
KR: the turkey (= the dog wants to eat it)
IV: Ahá. Y ¿qué pasó con la comida del rey?
KR: The dog had already ate it n he (= the king) was looking for his food, when he turned around.

But KR cannot penetrate the unreal condition.

(5.10) IV: Mhm. ¿Qué hubiera pasado si el perro no s' hubiera comido la comida?
KR: What?
IV: ¿Qué hubiera pasado si el perro no se hubiera comido la comida?
KR: (pause)
IV: ¿No sabes? Muy bien, ¿por qué se cayó la manzana?
KR: because he (= the king) was surprised (= that his food was gone and dropped the apple).

Just how much KR could understand independent of the contextual support of the pictures and his own inferences about what would be likely to be asked is unclear. The Spanish LAS story went beyond his abilities:

(5.11) IV: (after playing the LAS-S story) . . . ¿me quieres contar el cuento?
KR: What?
IV: Cuéntame el cuento, lo que te acuerdes.
KR: Mm (pause). I didn't understand it.

Although the story retelling of the LAS is supposed to be supported by four pictures, in the LPI administration the verbal signals alone were used to reduce nonlinguistic cues. As the BSM pictures indicate, KR is able to use visual cues to make inferences about the questions beyond his actual ability in Spanish.

The rest of the speakers answered in Spanish, and showed greater ability to understand and produce the language, regardless of preference behavior elsewhere.

All speakers tried to do the English tests as well. The two speakers of LOR six months or less were the only ones to use the reverse dual-lingual pattern (compared with KR), i.e., use of Spanish to reply to English (LQ and AM, cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4.2 (1)), e.g.:

(5.12) IV: where's the king?
LQ: no sé.
IV: where's the dog?
LQ: comiendo la comida.
IV: Why is the dog looking at the king?
LQ: se comió la comida.

AM tried to use English, but filled with Spanish when he had trouble.

(5.13) IV: What happened to that apple?
AM: th' apple is a - se cayó par' de floor.

All other speakers answered almost exclusively in English, including SO and AA, who showed reluctance to use English in other contexts (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1 (1)).

5.3 Sample

For the following discussion we will be concerned with the linguistic behavior of all speakers who responded in English to the Engish section of LPI. This includes the core sample and those additional speakers who supplemented the core sample in other situations and used at least English in those situations. This includes 42 speakers, six speakers in addition to the core sample of 36 (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.0).

5.4 Morphology

Discussion of morphology includes examples of morphological processes discussed for spontaneous speech in Chapter 4. The following processes appeared generally in responses to the BSM:

- a. 3S marking;
- b. Irregular Past marking;
- c. Past modal (in unreal condition).

Only the irregular past marking is well represented in the LAS.

BSM-E. The segment of the BSM-E (English) includes five questions (21-25) of which only the middle three are scored. For our purposes, however, the response to question 21 is also of interest. In a great many cases, the response to question 21, was along the lines of the dog WANTS the food/to eat. The interesting morphological point is the -S marking subject-verb agreement. For speakers who created a response with want, the traditional rule of subject-verb agreement was recorded as present or absent. For some speakers no data point was recorded because their responses did not contain an opportunity for subject-verb agreement, e.g., the dog's hungry.

The responses to questions 22 and 24 focus on irregular past tenses. The usual response to question 22 is the dog ATE it (= the food), and to question 24 is it (= the apple) FELL. Speakers who used the verbs eat and fall either used the irregular past form or did not inflect the verb for tense. Since, unlike subject-verb agreement (3S), irregular past tenses must be learned item by item, it will be interesting to note that a specific relationship between the two past forms obtains in the data.

Finally, question 23 elicits the most interesting data for variability. The question intends to elicit an unreal (contrary-to-fact) condition:

(5.14) what *would have* happened if the dog hadn't eaten the food?

The crucial variable is the structure of the auxiliary: *would have*. In this analysis we will attend especially to whether the auxiliary was a variant of *would have* (usually *woulda* or *would of*) or something else (e.g., *would*, *will*, *was gonna* or nothing at all).

Figure 5.2 below shows a clear relationship between acquisition of the various structures and AOA (age of arrival). Each point gives the percentage of speakers using the form indicated out of the number of speakers using the structures, i.e., *eat*, *want*, *fall*.

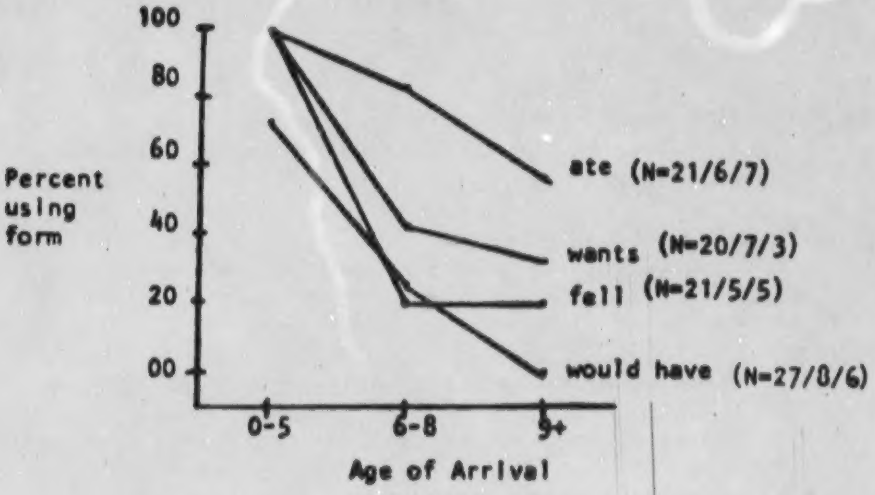


Figure 5.2 Percentage using the indicated morphological form when appropriate by Age of Arrival.

The figure shows that the unreal condition is the most discriminant structure of the four. Not even all of the earliest AOA group used *would have* in their responses. Of the two irregular pasts, fell is more discriminant than ate. The 3S inflection falls in between the two.

Diagram 5.1 below shows that there is a stable implicational hierarchy underlying the four features such that development of would have for the unreal condition implies development of the other three features, and so on until the indeterminancy between wants and ate.

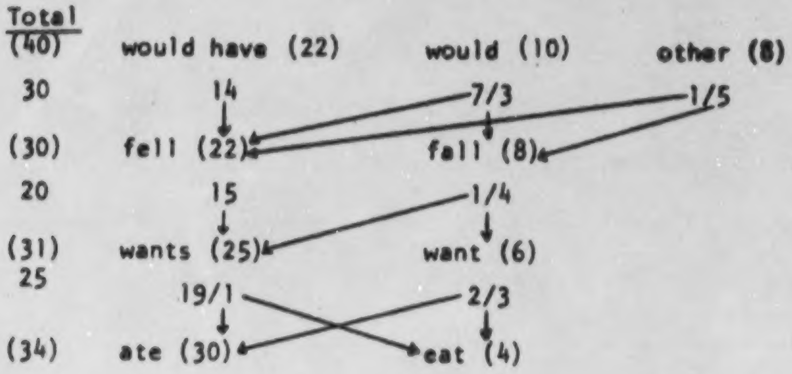


Diagram 5.1 (N) = Total number of forms in category
(N) = Total number of pairs of forms for adjacent categories.

According to the implication in Diagram 5.1: would have implies fell implies wants/ate.

There is no obvious ordering between acquisition of 3S and the past tense of eat. However, for some reason, the past tense of fall is less accessible to speakers than the past of eat (frequency?).

Absolute counts of the frequency of fall and eat are not available for the DI sessions. Two available studies of word frequency show the dependency of frequency on context. The first, Kucera & Francis (1967), considers adult written language. In that sample fell (93 occurrences) far outweighed ate (16 occurrences). Similarly, fall/falls (of which the latter may also include examples of waterfalls irrelevantly to the verb fall) occurred 179 times, as against 64 for eat/eats. On the other hand, Murphy (1957) shows reverse frequencies for sample of spontaneous speech from several samples of K-3 English speakers in classroom contexts: ate 596 (of 1655 eat/s--ate) to fell 386 (of 754 fall/s--fell). That study shows that fall is more likely to occur in the past form than eat, but in brute numbers ate is much more frequent than fell.

At any rate, it was already observed in Chapter 4 that some irregular pasts are acquired before others. Both ate and fell are peripheral irregular pasts. The BSM data indicates that ordering of acquisition still applies to the peripheral pasts. It is evident that speakers who use fell also use 3S-marking. The ordering of 3S-marking and ate is not as clear, although for the most part ate is more general than want + s.

It is quite generally the case that acquisition of the auxiliary structure would + have (henceforth wda) by a speaker indicates that 3S and the past forms of a great many irregular verbs have already been developed by the same speaker. It follows from this that, at least for speakers of this age group, wda is a useful diagnostic of a relatively high level of morphological ability in English.

A further breakdown of the auxiliary structure used in the responses to the past modal question indicates an ordering in the elaboration of the modals.

Table 5.1 Use of Modals in Response to Past Modal Question by AOA.

AOA	wda	wd	will	was	0
0	16	4	1	0	0
4-5	4	2	0	0	0
6-8	2	3	1	1	0
9+	0	1	2	1	2
Total	22	10	4	2	2

The display shows that modal absence is confined to AOA 9+. Speakers of AOA 6+ may respond to the past modal by either using the past *was*, as in,

(5.15) a. he *was gna* eat it (OS 12M10825SS)
b. he *was* happy (LG 12F110XPSS)

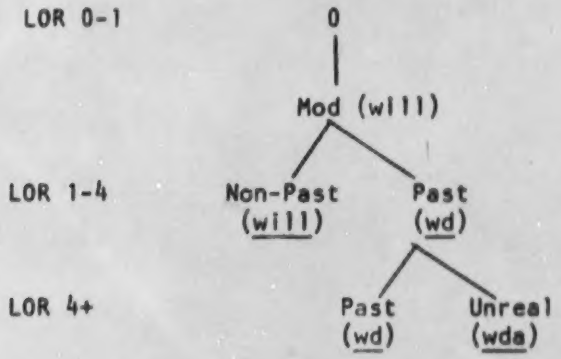
or simply with the modal *will*, as in,

(5.16) a. he *will* eat (RM 13M110NFSS)
b. the king *will* drop the apple (CR 12M10915SS)

For AOA 8-, *wd(a)* becomes progressively more probable, with *wda* finally replacing *wd*.

The further distinction between *wda* and *wd*, is quite clear in English. The suggested route of development is schematized below.

(5.17)



The schema is a simplification of the major trend of Table 5.1. The LORs indicate the ranges in which the distinction appears to develop. The Past-Unreal appears unstable even at early AOAs according to the test data. The evident reason for this will be discussed below in the comparison of LPI and spontaneous speech behavior.

5.4.1 Modal Comparison with Spanish Subjunctive

The equivalent question in BSM-Spanish featured the perfect preterite subjunctive. Its description is similar to the perfect of the English past modals. In point of fact, the English modals themselves arose as substitutes for the English subjunctive in various uses, beginning in the late Old English period (ca. 11th Century) (cf. Mustanoja, 1960, p. 552ff). Formally, the Spanish subjunctive differs from the English modal in that the Spanish form is a verbal suffix, not an auxiliary. Consequently, in the perfect construction, the auxiliary haber (+ participle), equivalent to SE have (+ participle), is the main verb in the past subjunctive, contrary to the use of a past modal (e.g. would) in English:

(5.18) ¿Qué hub-ie-ra pasado, si no se hub-ie-ra
What have-pst-sjn happened if neg fix have-pst-sjn
comido la comida?
eaten the food?

The speakers showed some variation in their responses. Most commonly, speakers preserved the construction, sometimes with hesitation, e.g.:

(5.19) el rey se uhm-el rey se lo hubi-hubiera comido.
prf-pst-sjn
(EG 13F200PXSE)

This was striking since the construction was not found in speech, not nearly as commonly as perfect past modals in English (e.g., *woulda*).

A few speakers used a modal construction featuring *ir* 'go.' The past modal is in the *imperfect* form:

(5.20) Se la *i-ba*(a) comer el rey.
reflx it *go*-*impf*(to) eat the king.
(AP 12M200PXSE)

This modal structure is the *imperfect* form of the *future* construction. Although a morphological future exists in Standard Spanish, it is known to be uncharacteristic of Mexican and Mexican American Spanish vernacular (cf. Phillips, 1967; Gonzalez, 1970). Instead the present of 'go' is used:

(5.21) Future. (Standard) el com-er-á
he eat-Inf-Fut

(Vernacular) el va a com-er
he *go* to eat-Inf

Thus, both in English and Spanish a *modal* is used in the future, English *will*: Spanish *go*. Although, semantically, Spanish *go* appears at least as equivalent to the English future *gna* (with the auxiliary *be* preceding, e.g., *was gna*), there is no clear equivalence of the *imperfect* with an English form. Speakers never used forms like *was will(ing)*, *was would(ing)* for the imperfect of the modal *ir* (go). Although, *was gna* was used once in response to the English BSM stimulus (see (5.15) above), most other speakers chose *wd* or *wda*.

The imperfect future, using the modal *ir* is a link between the future (English and Spanish) and the past modal *would*. However, speakers who did not imitate the stimulus perfect subjunctive more often simply used the *imperfect* form of the main verb, e.g.:

(5.22) se la comió el--se la com-*ía* el rey.
rflx it ate the--rflx it eat-*Impf* the king.
(BM 11F200FXSS)

This use of the imperfect instead of the past subjunctive is well known to the literature on colloquial Spanish (e.g., *op. cit.*; also Lance, 1975; Bourciez, 1956). It was used in a variety of contexts where either *would* or *woulda* may occur in English equivalents. In (5.22) above it seems to function as *woulda*, or *was gna*, cf.

(5.23)a. If I (had) caught it, you *woulda* caught it.
b. If I (had) caught it, you *were gna* catch it.

(*not* *woulda been gna)

But in some cases in speech, the equivalent of the imperfect in *would* or *was gna*, e.g.:

(5.24) le dijo al loco si se la xxx lo *mataba*
"he told the crazy man that if he xxx he *would*/*was gna* kill him"
(AM 10M110XXSS)

In this case, the imperfect *mat-aba* (*kill* + *Impf*) is equivalent to the past of the future, through the tense concord (sequence of tense) rule applying to indirect speech, for example:

(5.25) le dij-*o* "si . . . lo *voy* a *mat*-ar
him tell-Past if . . . you *go* to *kill*-Inf
'he *said* "if . . . I'm *gna*/*will* kill you.'

The replacement of the Modal+Verb structure, *ir a V*, by *Verb* + *Impf*, *V + aba/ía*, is direct. Although the imperfect of the modal structure is possible, it is not found (i.e., *lo iba a matar*).

In some other contexts, neither the Spanish modal *ir* nor English *gna* are possible, but *would* is equivalent to the Spanish imperfect. One such context is the past habitual, e.g.:

(5.26) . . . le da-ba dinero mi papa.
her give-impf money my father
"My father useta/would give her money"
(C8 11F20625SS)
(cf. example see Chapter 4, section 4.5).

Here would is equivalent to the Spanish imperfect for iterative past habituals (active verbs), whereas useta also applies to durative past habituals (stative verbs) (e.g., I useta live there, I useta be short).

Similarly, would is equivalent to the imperfect in hypothetical contexts such as the following:

(5.27) if I were rich . . . yo le compraba a mi mamá . . . daba cien dólares a mi mamá . . . y luego iba y yo me compraba
. . . como tenis como Pumas . . . y luego . . . entraba pa' todas partes football, basketball y baseball. Luego compraba todo el Dodger Stadium.

"if I were rich . . . I would buy my mother . . . would give my mother a hundred dollars . . . and then I would go n buy . . . like tennies, like Pumas . . . and then . . . I would attend all the football, basketball n baseball games n then I would buy the whole Dodger Stadium."
(DM 11M200XPSS)

Although would matches the imperfect, was gna does not fit DM's example.

An equivalent to the further distinction between would and wda, as non-comittal vs. unreal was not observed in the speakers' Spanish, although standard Spanish provides the distintion. The equivalent of the past modal in standard Spanish is the perfect of the past subjunctive. This contrasts with the past subjunctive alone as the Spanish equivalent of wd in the standard English versions of (5.26) and (5.27) above.

(5.28)	St. English	St. Spanish	Vernacular Spanish
Past Sjn	Modal (+ V) would (+ eat)	(V +) Past + sjn (com +) ie + ra	pdd (V +) impf or pp + impf (+ V + inf) (com +) ía í + ba (+ com + ar)
Past Pf Sjn	Modal + have (+ V + Prt) would + a (+ eat + en)	have + Past + Sjn (+ V + Prt) hub + ie + ra (+ com + ido)	Unclear for sample

The standard Spanish perfect subjunctive is extremely rare in spontaneous Spanish speech as opposed to wda in spontaneous English.[2]

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[2] A lack of distinction between the imperfect (equivalent to English would) and the perfect (equivalent to English woulda) for unreal conditions is neither surprising nor necessarily a sign of immature oral language development, in view of Phillips' (1967) observation that it is rarely encountered even among adult Spanish speakers in East Los Angeles (p. 540). The history of unreal conditions discussed in Bourciez (1956) indicates that the optionality of the distinction appears to continue a tradition already established in pre-Iberian Latin. The preferred use of -se- (originally the Latin past perfect subjunctive) in the if-clause, according to the academic Castillian standard norm, is of early Romance origin. In addition, the means of making the distinction has shown numerous changes since the beginning of the Iberian period. This has primarily been the function of the main clause, and shows a repeated tendency to replace subjunctive with indicative forms. The -ra- form (originally the Latin past perfect indicative) is of pre-Iberian use for the past perfect. The use of the nonstandard imperfect indicative is of early Iberian origin, but until the Old Spanish period (ca. 12th century), only with an auxiliary (haber); at that time it begins to appear directly with the verb of the main clause. Use of the same auxiliary (haber) + participle to form the past perfect subjunctive, the current standard, is rare before the 15th century. The spread of -ra- from main to if-clause is of equal age, and has totally replaced -se- in many vernacular Spanish dialects, including those of concern to us here (cf. Phillips, p. 320ff). Finally, the conditional -ría- (the Romance future past indicative) is not commonly used in unreal conditions in Mexican-American Spanish of this area (cf. Phillips, p. 552), although in standard Spanish varieties it is commonly used in the main clause, and in Castillian and Argentinian nonstandard dialects it has even spread to the if-clause.

In English, it is likely that the relation of *will* and *wd* is not transferred at first, but that the first modal acquired is *will*, which like other verbs is not at first marked for past, i.e., as *wd*, but rather is used in contexts which would be past in both English and Spanish (either through the preterite subjunctive or imperfect). Next, *will* and *wd* are distinguished according to the tense of the associated if-clause; *will*, if the if-clause is present, *wd* if the if-clause is past. This tense agreement holds for both English and Spanish constructions, as illustrated below.

(5.29)

	English	St. Spanish	Vernacular Sp.
a. e.g., if he __ it	Pres buy-*s*	Pres compr-*a*	Pres compr-*a*
he __ me it	Mod/gna *w*ill/'*s* *gna* give	Fut da-*rá*	Mod + inf *va* *a* dar
b. e.g., if . . .	Past b*ough*t	Past + Sjn compr-*a*-*ra*	Past + Sjn compr-*a*-*ra*
e.g., he . . .	Mod + Past w*oul*d give	Past + Sjn d-*ie*-*ra* or conditional da-*ría*	*add* Mod + impf inf *or* impf *i*-*ba* a dar da-*ba*

The further distinction between *wd* and *wda* does not appear to be reflected in the commonly used Spanish imperfect. Although the perfect subjunctive is commonly used in the test situation, there is little evidence of support in speech for formal transference of the Spanish perfect to the English perfect past modal. In 5.4.3 (3), the problem of the perfect past modal will be discussed further.

5.4.2 The Participle

It is worthwhile to make one further observation about the structure of the unreal condition. This concerns the verb following *wda*. In the standard English of the classroom, *wda*, like the perfect, requires a following verb to be in participial form, e.g., eaten. For the verb eat, in our sample, this was never the case. Table 5.2 below shows that the norm for wda + eat is wda ate.

Table 5.2 Form of Verb Following Modal wda.

	would have +		
AOA	ate	aten	eat
0-5	9	1	1
6-8	0	0	2
9+	0	0	0

As mentioned in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.2 (4)), in the communities of the speakers (LA Mexican-American), either the past participle of eat is ate (cf. standard eaten), or speakers of this age group are still developing the adult norm (eaten?), independently of first language background. This is an empirical issue. Until it is resolved it is impossible to apply the BSM instructions for scoring to this form, since the BSM explicitly allows the use of nonstandard (local community based) features without penalty in evaluating language proficiency. The trouble is that the BSM gives no list of such features to help the scorer--nor can it, given the present state of our knowledge of the conventionally nonstandard English of Hispanic communities. However, we have established that the pattern of past and participial forms of most verbs are identical in the spontaneous speech of even AOA 0 and monolingual English speakers for this age group in these communities (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.3.2 (4)). The use of past for SE participle is not a distinguisher of sub-groups of the sample on any basis.

5.4.3 Comparison with Spontaneous Speech

Three major features of morphology were discussed in the preceding section.

1. Irregular Past;
2. 3S; and
3. Past Modal (Unreal Condition).

They were seen to suggest an order of acquisition relative to each other, as in the order of presentation immediately above (cf. Figure 5.2, Diagram 5.1). In turn, a comparison of test and spontaneous speech behavior for each of these features follows.

1. Irregular Past. The speakers who showed variation in using the irregular past in Chapter 4 section 4.3.2 (1), also showed variation in LPI. There are two sources of possible contexts for the irregular past in LPI:

   a. BSM,
   b. LAS.

The BSM data has already been discussed. It is limited to 2 possible contexts. Across speakers an ordering of the two contexts, eat, fall, is evident. The LAS story retelling gives more extensive data, but is usually still much more limited than the data of spontaneous speech.

Figure 5.3 below shows the correspondence of the three samples. Note that data also occur for SO and LG, for whom there is no spontaneous speech.

Table 5.3 Comparison of Tokens (Possible Contexts) per Speaker and Correspondence of Variation per Possible Contexts to DI.

	BSM	LAS	DI
Range (N of possible contexts)	2-4	4-15	5-128
Average N/speaker	2.0	8.2	48.6
Average % difference from DI	31.0	14.9	--

Table 5.3 indicates that LAS corresponds more closely than the BSM to spontaneous speech.

In view of the relatively large differences between BSM and DI, it is likely that the number of cases in BSM is insufficient to adequately characterize the degree of variation in spontaneous speech. In contrast, LAS succeeds quite well for most speakers despite its still limited cases.

Allowing a difference of 10%+ for disagreement with the DI, BSM shows a slightly greater tendency than LAS to underrate (LAS-3/9, BSM-5/9). To some extent this is due to the larger intervals (due to the smaller sample) of BSM. But BSM also shows the same tendency relative to LAS alone (cf. Ulibarri _et al_., 1980). LAS scores are higher than BSM for 5/11, lower for 3/11, speakers. This is partially explicable in terms of the verb _fall._ It does not occur in the LAS story, which consists of many core past irregular verbs, e.g., _got, said, went_ among its contexts. Still, LAS also contains peripheral irregular pasts such as _drank, ate, gave, brought._

Figure 5.3 shows a greater tendency for the three measures to converge on more developed irregular past speakers (AR through CR), and to diverge for less developed speakers (RR through AA).

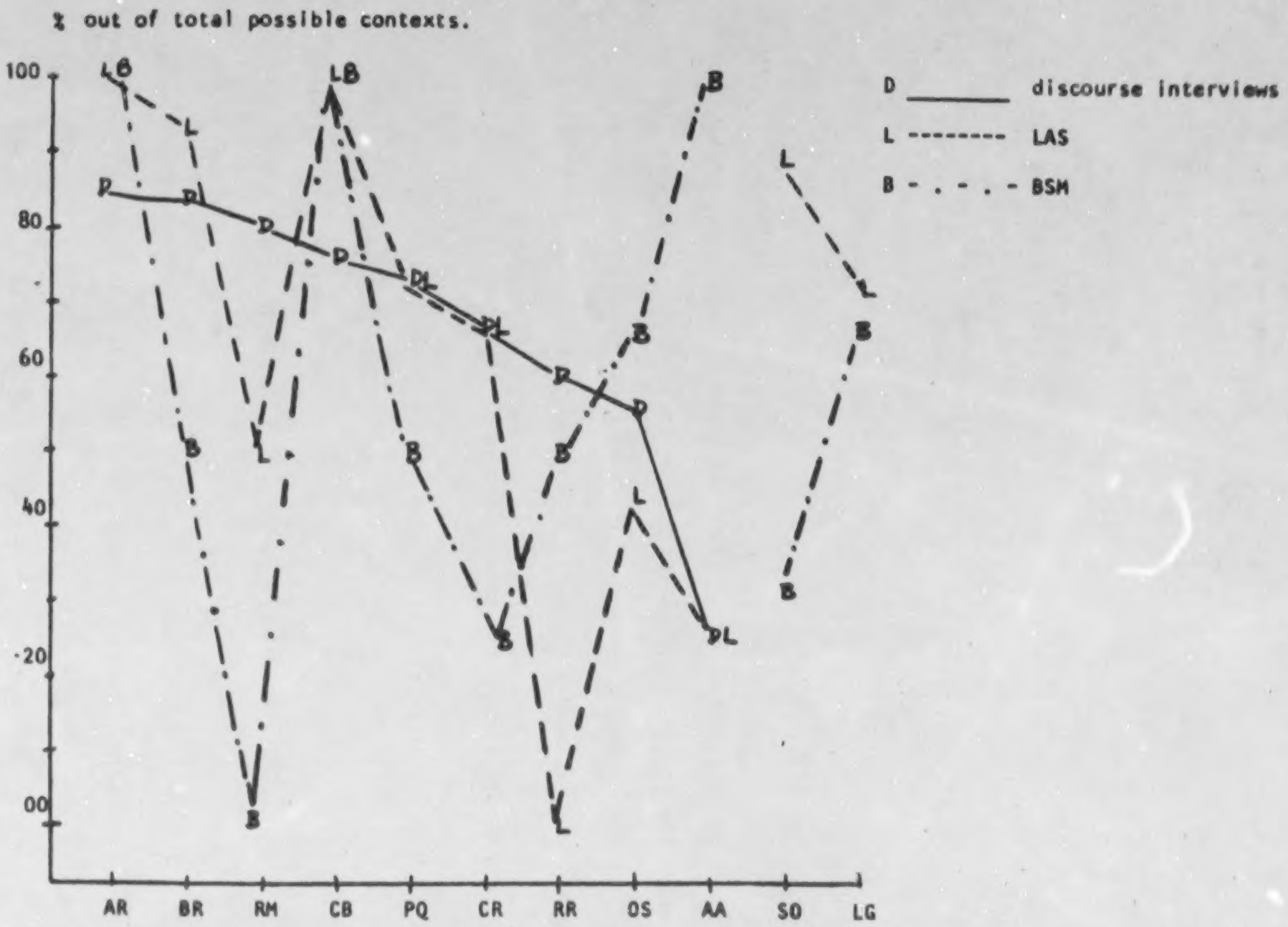

Fig. 5.3 Percentage of past irregular verbs for variable 3S speakers in three contexts: discourse interview, LAS story retelling, BSM LPAI.

It is interesting that SO shows high development of irregular pasts according to LAS. It confirms that her refusal to speak English is social, rather than that she does not have knowledge of the irregular past equal to some of the more willing, though still Spanish-preferent, speakers. In fact, her LAS level is among the highest, most comparable to CB. CB showed less concern about her English-speaking image.

Two principles emerge from the comparison:

1. More cases (possible contexts) increase correspondence of test speech to spontaneous speech.
2. Rating relative to spontaneous speech is at least partially determined by particular verbs used.

2. 3S. The 3S data is too rare in LPI to expect any matching with the variation found among speakers discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1. Only the BSM segment encourages the possibility. In most cases speakers provided only one possible context. Unmarking of verbs for past in the LAS is counted apart.

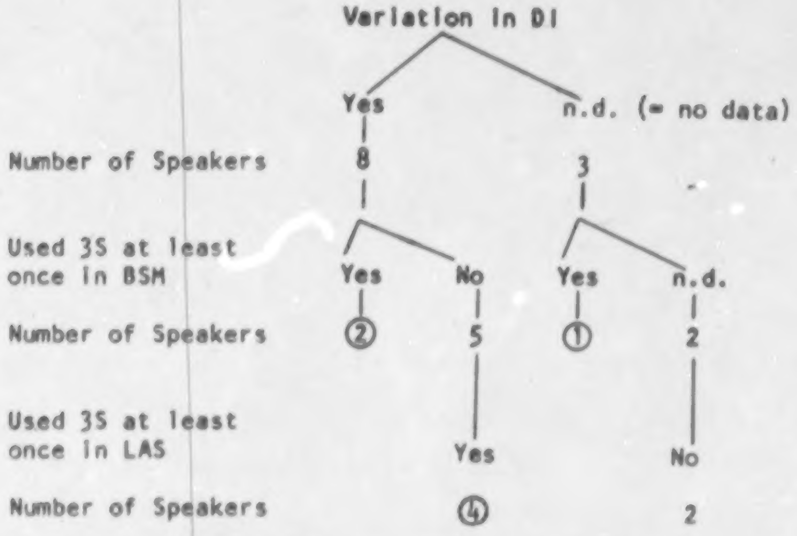
Variation in DI
Yes
n.d. (= no data)
Number of Speakers
8
3
Used 3S at least once in BSM
Yes
No
Yes
n.d.
Number of Speakers
②
5
①
2
Used 3S at least once in LAS
Yes
No
Number of Speakers
④
2

Diagram 5.2 Schema of relation of 3S variation in spontaneous speech to 3S occurrence in BSM or LAS.

Although 8 speakers exhibited a moderate degree of variation in the spontaneous speech of the DI, only 2 were registered in the single possible context of the BSM. Of the three speakers for which there was no quantifiable data in DI (BR, SO and LG), the speaker BR shows a sign of 3S on the BSM. The other two both responded to the question without giving a possible context, e.g., is eating rather than wants.

Possible contexts for 3S on the LAS turned out to apply to verbs not marked as past, e.g.:

(5.30) uh there was a (ei)- a (ei) monster but he likes a lemona'e . . . he . . . went for a walk n he see a p- a pin (=pink). He thinks . . .
(RM 13M210NFSS)

In (5.30), RM does not mark the past for like, see or think, although he does for was and went, core irregular pasts. But two of the three other verbs are marked with 3S, likes and thinks. This has an analog in the historical present of spontaneous speech in AOA 0-5. It also has a Spanish analog very much used by the speakers in the use of the present for the past in Spanish narratives and movie descriptions (cf. Silva-Corvalan, 1981 for Chilean adults). In both languages subject-verb agreement is found in these contexts.

The AOA 0-5 speakers did not use the historical present in the LAS story retelling. They invariably used the past. They offer no possible contexts for 3S. Only the variable 3S speakers showed the unmarking of verbs in past contexts in LAS. Where there was unmarking, 4 additional variable 3S speakers revealed occurrences of 3S. Two others, SO and LG, unmarked irregular pasts but showed no sign of 3S.

It is important to note that despite 3S in past contexts, this never applies to a verb which is indeed marked as past, e.g., ate but not *ate-s*. As noted in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1, extensions of 3S to other contexts were exceedingly rare, and systematic where they occurred: Number for RM's *has-have*, and tense for PQ's *doesn't-don't*. The speakers indicate knowledge of the morphological principle that 3S applies only to subject-verb agreement for the present (unmarked) form.

It is generally the case that for a feature whose diagnostic value is considered indicative of language development to the 7 year-old monolingual level, 3S is underrepresented in the LPAIs. This is seen to have the effect of underrating, rather than overrating, speakers for this feature, according to Diagram 5.2. Descriptions of pictures favor the copula *be* either with or without the progressive. Stories favor the past tense. If the scoring system, based on error analysis, penalizes for both failure to use past and failure to use 3S, the form *he eat* for *he ate* faces double jeopardy.

In the analyses reported here 3S marking and irregular pasts have been treated as separate objects of analysis.

The conclusion is the same as for irregular pasts: The number of possible contexts is usually too small to accurately reflect use and implied knowledge.

3. *Past Modals*. Past modals showed a higher ceiling than the other two morphological features (see Figure 5.2). Traditionally,, the past modal is described as referring to a situation which is impossible, specifically because it is referenced as hypothetical in relation to a past event, e.g.:

(5.31) if he (had) *bought* it, he *would have given* me it
Past Impossible

Traditionally, the construction in (5.3.1) is called a *counterfactual* condition. The if-clause represents a past event (x *bought* y) which did not happen. The main clause, called the *conclusion* (consequent or apodosis) of the condition, features an impossible past event (x *gave* y).

As a counterfactual, the perfect past modal is a sign of recognition of the impossibility of a hypothetical event by virtue of its pastness. The concept of impossibility, or counterfactuality, is of interest to cognition in a deeply linguistic way, since it is not observable in events themselves (especially obvious if there was no past event to observe), but rather is inferrable through the way the events are referred to. Linguists have often referred to expressions containing counterfactuals as *subjective* for this reason (i.e., they refer to the user's *beliefs* about real-actually occurrent and unreal events, not to *objective* facts accessible to all observers).

Counterfactuality was characteristic of *all* uses of *all* the perfect past modals used by the speakers in the English DIs, e.g.:

(5.32) he *could* have given it to me
he *should* have given it to me
(but he *didn't*)

In the DIs, speakers varied widely in the recognizable possible contexts they provided for perfect past modals. One speaker in particular, JF, shows a range of contexts in spontaneous speech. In all cases they make reference to past events, e.g.:

(5.33) You *shoulda* seen, it *was* all messed up.
(JF 10M20055SE)
we *woulda* stepped on them in the car,
we *woulda* ran over them.
(same speaker)

The first citation refers to a car wreck, the second to a home burglary, both past events.

Further examples from other speakers were also counterfactual:

(5.34)a. I couldv saw it Saturday-no, Sunday. (VS 12M200EXEE)
b. She coulda broke the window; she coulda got out. (VM 12F10555SS)

In both cases, the events were counterfactual, i.e., VS did not see it on any day, VM's character didn't break the window or get out.

The perfect past modal may be non-factive, like the non-perfect past modals, in other contexts in some varieties of English (cf. discussion in Lyons, 1977, p. 793ff on counter- and non-factivity). Non-factives are not impossible events, but events to which the speaker is not committed for actuality. They may be possible but they are not certain. Thus (5.34) above also has non-factive readings (about which traditional descriptions of English are strangely mute), e.g.:

(5.35) Maybe I saw it Saturday . . .
Maybe she broke the window . . .

This also extends to other past perfect modals in some contexts, e.g.:

(5.36) You shoulda seen it, if you were there (so did you?)
If they were in the driveway when we came home, we
woulda run over them (so maybe we did without knowing)

The non-factive reading of the perfect past modal is not found among the speakers. There is no evidence that it has developed as an alternative for maybe + Past, or that it is a vernacular form. For the speakers, the perfect past modal always presupposed the impossibility (counterfactivity) of the event referred to.

Comparison of perfect past modal use in spontaneous speech and in the BSM is shown below. In both situations the total N refers to speakers using modals of any type.

Table 5.4 Comparison of Percentage Speakers Using Past Modal Out of Speakers Using Modals for Test and Spontaneous Speech.

	BSM		DI	
AOA 0	.76	(21)	.50	(16)
AOA 4-5	.57	(7)	.75	(4)
AOA 6-8	.29	(7)	.80	(5)
AOA 9+	.00	(5)	.20	(5)

First note that in spontaneous speech modals are relatively rare. The test data show that non-occurrence is not associable with lack of knowledge. Now note that there is little correspondence between the two situations for AOA 0-8. It is easiest to account for AOA 9+, in view of the correspondence of situations, as actual lack of core linguistic ability, not lack of context. Elsewhere, the most striking lack of correspondence is AOA 6-8. The BSM underrates control of the past modal compared with spontaneous speech.

In offering the series of three pictures, the BSM allows the speakers to use the strategy of taking the reference point from the first picture. This changes the interpretation of the question

(5.37) what would the king have done if the dog hadn't eaten his food?

to

(5.38) what would the king do, if the dog didn't eat his food?

This strategy retains retrospective knowledge that the if-clause is hypothetical, as marked by the past (didn't eat), but allows for the dog's not eating the food as a still possible conclusion at the time symbolized by the first panel (i.e., the food is still on the plate).

In view of the possible use of this strategy in the BSM, but not in spontaneous speech, it is not yet clear that the basis of use of wd for wda is the result of lack of knowledge of wda, rather than possible failure to realize that repetition of the past modal form in the question is wanted.

However, speaker behavior in response to the Spanish equivalent of the same question makes this latter possibility less likely. All seven AOA 6-8 speakers responded with the past subjunctive. Furthermore, 5 of the speakers used the perfect form contained in the question, although this use of the perfect was not found in spontaneous speech. Several speakers used a non-standard form of the perfect past subjunctive, e.g.:

(5.39) hab-er-a comido (St. hub-ier-a comido)

not recognizing the standard relation between the form of the past and past subjunctive for the auxilary haber, i.e., Past hub- with internal vowel modification used for both the past (preterite form) and past subjunctive.

Thus, it becomes more likely that in English those speakers who did not use wda in the BSM, but did in spontaneous speech, had difficulty interpreting wda in the context as distinct from wd.

The conclusion is that the perfect past modal is a useful diagnostic to the extent that repetition implies speaker knowledge. However, the BSM lacks control to distinguish those speakers who use the past modal in some, but not all, possible contexts, from those who have no knowledge of its use.

5.4.4 Conclusions About Morphology

The morphology elicited by the LPAIs accurately reflects spontaneous speech and the linguistic knowledge on which it is based only for the extremes of development, i.e., virtual non-speakers and highly developed speakers. The number of examples and contexts used is crucial to the accurate placement of intermediate speakers. Comparison of the BSM and LAS with the DIs indicates that a number of contexts between 5-10 approaches accuracy in corresponding to variation in spontaneous speech. In principle, the number of possible contexts depends on interest in refining measurement of the intermediate speakers.

As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.6, with the reservations and qualifications already expressed, there is a tendency toward natural ordering of the three features discussed above. Of these, only the past modal construction shows a ceiling which also affects many AOA 0-5 speakers at the sample age level. Use of the past modal is in itself a more reliable sign of morphological parity with the most developed English speakers of this age, than is the irregular past or 3S.

5.5 Syntax

LPAI approaches to the measurement of syntactic development and the limitations on their applicability were discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5. In discussing syntax elicited in LPI, discussion will focus primarily on the results of the LAS story retelling. Although the data come from LAS, the analysis is also relevant to the scoring methods used by the BINL.

The story-retelling presents a wealth of linguistic data. Foremost, it elicits a coherent multisentence unit (discourse unit) which can be compared both to its source (the recorded story) and to other replicated versions. For present purposes we are interested in the syntactic structure of the story as produced by each speaker. Our aim is to compare how the syntactic abilities, revealed by our analysis of the LAS responses, relate to the morphological abilities evident in the BSM responses.

For analysis of the syntactic structure of the stories two variables were selected which figure in the scoring procedures of the BINL. The BINL has its own elicitation instruments in a series of pictures about which the subject is to utter a sentence consisting of one or more clauses. The scoring favors longer and more syntactically complex utterances. The BINL also has the variable of instant descriptive creativity such that the visual image in the picture is required to be converted into a verbal "story" on the spot. This is a typical example of a test feature which rarely occurs in everday communication, but pre-figures the requirements of composition as a writing skill. The story-retelling is closer to everyday communication. Although the semantic content is highly determined, there is considerable syntactic creativity displayed by the speakers:

1) Story length - number of clauses/per story;

2) Syntactic variety - number of types of clauses/per story.

In Figure 5.4 below, the number of clauses in the stories are broken down by AOA group.

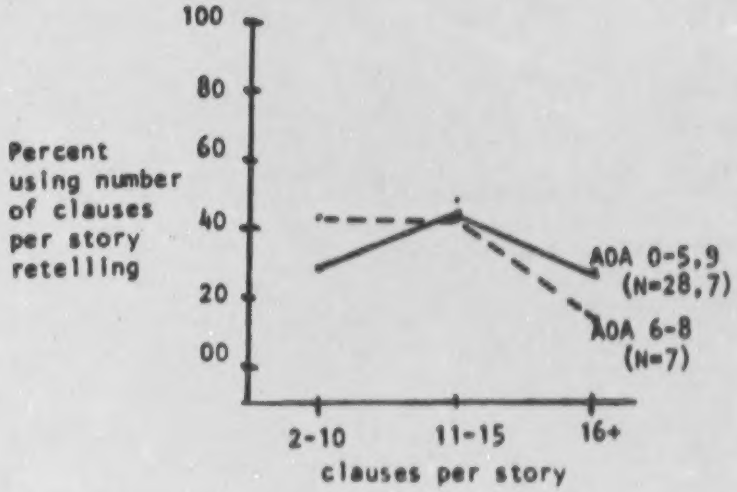

Figure 5.4 Distribution of clause per story-retelling by age of arrival.

Although AOA showed a clear relationship to morphological development, it shows no clear pattern for story length. Most speakers of all AOA groups tell the story in 11-15 clauses before they return to silence.

We might suspect that syntactic complexity would be a better measure of linguistic development than clause length among speakers who are already accustomed to producing multi-sentence units in everyday situations. In the present analysis, our interest in syntactic complexity will be restricted to clause types. In the stories, we singled out seven different clause types used by at least two of the speakers, although the LAS source only used 5 (also represented among the 7).

1. n + clause. This simple type of clause is introduced by n (representing any form of the conjunction and), e.g.,

   . . . It was a giant n he like uh she like uh pink lemonade . . . (PQ 12F, AOA6)

2. *(n) then + clause.* Another simple clause type introduced by either *then* or *n then*, e.g.,

   . . . he ate uhm pink paint *n then* the next day he was sick . . . (CB 11F, AOA6) not in LAS source

3. *so (then) + clause.* Another common clause type introduced by either *so* or *so then*, e.g.,

   . . . he liked pink lemonade a lot. *So* one day he went . . . (MC 11M, AOA4)

4. *after/when + clause.* A clause introduced by *when* or *after* as a subordinator.

   . . . *when* he dri- drink the water, he said, that is not a lemonade . . . (LG 12F, AOA10)

5. *if + clause.* This clause type, introduced by *if*, only occurred in the story introducing an embedded question, e.g.,

   . . . he went n to go see *if* he find lem- pink lemonade . . . (MER 11F, AOA5)[3] not in LAS source

6. *relative clause.* This type of clause is introduced by *that* or *what* in the data, e.g.,

   Once upon a time there was a- a silly old monster *that* liked to eat pink lemonade (BR 12M, AOA9)

   . . . one day he saw *what* he thought was pink lemonade . . . (EP 11F, AOA0)

7. *any other clause.* The most common clauses of this type are those with no introducing marker, e.g.,

   . . . he said *0* he'll never drink pink ink again (JP 12M,AOA0)

   or reported speech introduced by *that*:

   . . . he said *that* he'll never eat pink ink again (AP 12M,AOA0)

   or a clause introduced by the conjunctions *but* or *because* (both rare):

   . . . he went over to the ink *but* he didn't know (KR 11M, AOA0)

---

[3] Note the absence of a modal, e.g., *could*, in the if-clause. This issue is separated from the *use* of this clause type.

In Figure 5.5 below, AOA groups are plotted for clausal variety. There is no clear pattern discriminating the AOA groups. Generally, speakers tend to produce no more than five different clause types, without a clear preference between 2-3 and 4-5 types.

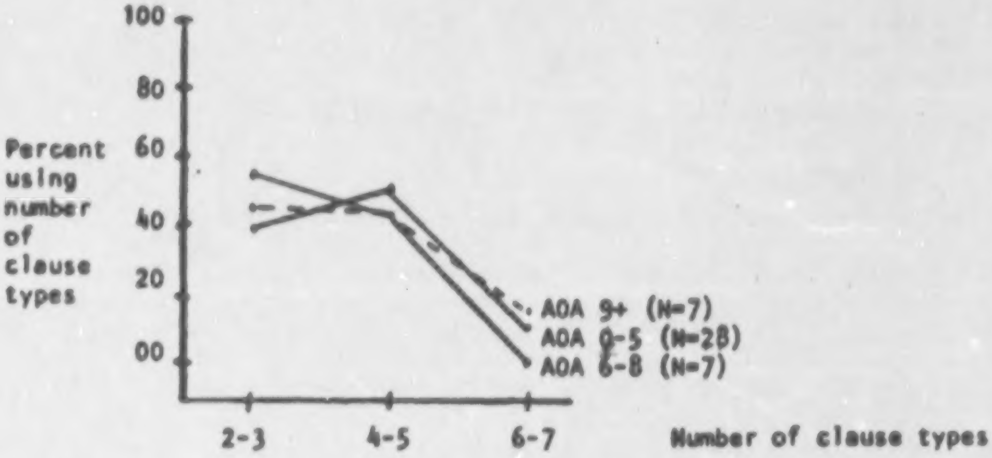

Figure 5.5 Distribution of variety of clause types by Age of Arrival.

A comparison of Figure 5.2 with Figures 5.4 and 5.5 shows that there is no clear relationship betwen morphological behavior and either length or clausal variety in discourse units. While AOA shows the gradient development of morphological forms, it is indifferent to the types of syntactic behavior we have investigated so far.

It is important to note in this context that our approaches to the analyis of morphology and syntax are necessarily different. We can easily compare a morhological form with the standard form, but we cannot make such a comparison for syntactic variety, since there is no clear standard for story length or syntactic variety. It is far from obvious that a speaker who uses only a few syntactic devices in the story-retelling does so because s/he does not have adequate command of other syntactic devices. We certainly cannot assume that each speaker approached the story retelling task with the same enthusiasm, concern for length or syntactic variety--quite apart from the issue of English syntactic ability.

5.5.1 Comparison of Syntax in Test and Spontaneous Speech

Measures such as number of clauses, or variety of clause type, characterize the story as a discourse unit. Although the story retelling of the LAS is different from stories or narratives in the DIs, in what the addressee(s) of the stories already know, there are features shared by the LAS stimulus story and spontaneous stories and narratives. These features show higher level organizational properties in which syntax plays a role. On the other hand, there are organizational properties of the story-retellings which are different from the stimulus, and unlike the organization of discourse units in spontaneous speech. This has consequences for syntactic variety, but not necessarily for particular syntactic constructions.

5.5.1 (A) Structure of LAS Story Retelling

The following scheme draws attention to organizational features of spontaneous stories and narratives as they match the LAS-stimulus. The extensions to the right of the basic organizational units represent devices used for expanding information within particular units. In real time the LAS-stimulus passes as shown by the arrows. Each unit, and its right extensions, is composed of a sequence of clauses, connected by various syntactic devices of coordination and/or subordination. Syntactic complexity is not a necessary feature of stories and narratives. Some spontaneous stories and narratives are relatively simple with minimal syntactic variation within each unit (cf. Labov & Waletzky, 1967). However, in the LAS-stimulus there is, as discussed above, a degree of syntactic variety.

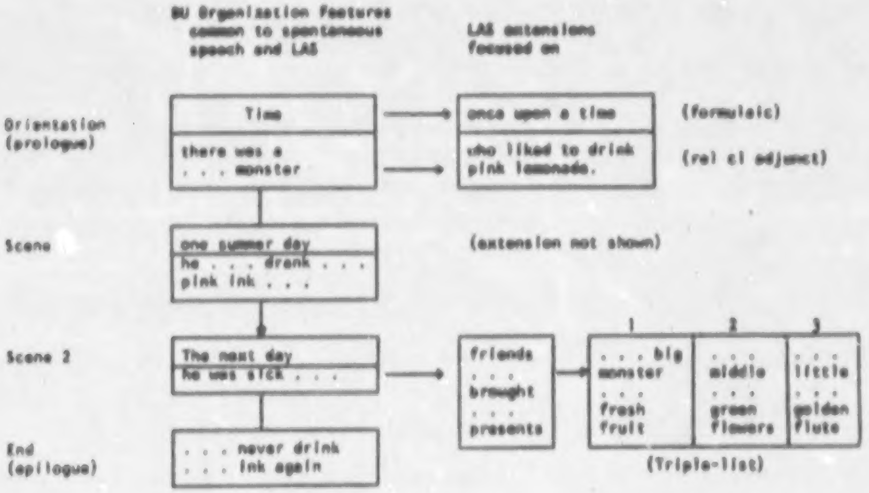
DU Organization Features common to spontaneous speech and LAS
LAS extensions focused on
Orientation (prologue)
Time
there was a . . . monster
once upon a time
who liked to drink pink lemonade.
(formulaic)
(rel cl adjunct)
Scene
one summer day
he . . . drank . . . pink ink . . .
(extension not shown)
Scene 2
The next day
he was sick . . .
friends . . . brought . . . presents
1
2
3
. . . big monster . . . fresh fruit
. . . middle . . . green flowers
. . . little . . . golden flute
(Triple-list)
End (epilogue)
. . . never drink . . . ink again

Figure 5.6 Scheme of LAS-stimulus, showing DU organizational features and analyzed LAS extensions.

According to the Labov-Waletzky analysis, all that is needed for a minimal narrative is two consecutive temporally ordered clauses, e.g.:

(5.40) he drank ink (n then) he was sick.

In other contexts this may be interpreted as a minimal shift in time--and a feature of a single scene, where scene is taken to have locative as well as temporal boundaries. The connective all of a sudden or suddenly expresses the temporal lower limit on temporal consecutiveness (cf. Wolfson, 1979).

However, spontaneous DUs confirm that some orientation is most likely, at least in an initial time expression, e.g., one time (see Chapter 4, section 4.5.2 (B)), and even more commonly, the first mention of a human, either in an existential clause, or as a left-dislocated subject (see Chapter 4, sections 4.5.5, and 4.5.6 (A)). The once upon a time is a specific feature of orientation to a traditional story, and is not found in spontaneous stories involving either direct or reported (i.e., second-hand) experience.

Labov & Waletzky (1967) also note the frequent use of an overt ending to the narrative, e.g., n that was that, or a change of scene device, e.g., I still see him occasionally, I never told anybody that before. In spontaneous DUs, marking of endings was diverse, e.g., speaker stops talking, tags like that's it, beginning of another DU by same or next speaker. In the LAS stimulus, the end is a possible point to the story, but it is apparent in speaker responses to the story that the overriding point was to retell the story, not to make the story's point.

In this respect, the triple-list structure elaborating Scene 2 is interesting. The triple-list is a feature of specific genres of stories, including many folk-tales (e.g., Goldilocks and the three bears), and many story-type jokes of the 1-2-3+ punchline type (cf. Sacks, 1974).

The following table shows that the story retellings as a whole did not reflect the features of the stimulus in the same way that spontaneous DUs did, but tended to focus on the triple list. This is the only point at which speakers tended to hesitate in the retelling and say either I don't remember, or precipitate a prompt by the interviewer, such as is that all? or anything else?.

Table 5.5 Overall Structure of the LAS Story-Retelling.

	Orientation		Body			End
	once upon a time	there was ... monster	Scene 1	Scene 2	List	never again
Percentage of speakers mentioning (N = 42)	.16	.50	.57	.57	.81	.40

Table 5.5 shows that (1) once upon a time as a formulaic opening was rarely used; (2) the introduction of the monster (or giant) in an existential clause was used by half the speakers; other speakers considered the referent to be already shared, and introduced it as a subject noun or pronoun, e.g., the monster or he/she, or used the frame it's about a monster . . .; (4) scene 1 was counted as represented if the speaker separated the events of the stimulus from the introduction by use of one day or words to that effect; (5) scene 2 was recognized as distinct from Scene 1 if the speaker changed the time reference, usually by the next day (as in the LAS stimulus), otherwise, a distinction between Scene 1 and Scene 2 is not registered in the Table. The table also shows that a small majority preserved the change of scene.

The triple-list is strikingly well attended to. Most speakers appear to treat this as more criterial to their performance than any other informational feature of the story. It is a salient feature of the story in the test context for them.

Finally, the end is marked by I'll never drink pink ink again, or words to that effect, by somewhat less than a majority of the speakers.

The table shows that the test situation deformed the ordinary DU organization of many speakers. The normal sequential relation of events in time was largely adhered to, as was the positioning of orientation and end, when they occurred. However, the bias on what information to repeat was affected by the consideration that the addressee already knew the story. On the whole, the actual selection appears analogous to the cross-over language choice in on-topic speech in the PC (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). Speakers concentrated on what was less likely in spontaneous discourse, in this case the triple-list embedded in the LAS-stimulus Scene 2. Other sections were variably assumed to be shared knowledge according to speakers' actual performance, or were not mentioned for some other reason (e.g., memory, lack of understanding?).

Thus, the test situation as a situation of display changes the value and distribution of information in the student's speech. The selective focusing on certain types of information has consequences in the variety of syntactic devices used.

5.5.1 (B) Discourse Effect on Syntactic Structure

The previous sections illustrated the general mediating effect of the test situation on syntactic variety in discourse structure. This section deals with specific syntactic structures as they occur in the LAS story-retelling and spontaneous speech.

Although we have seen that situation may affect the variety of structures used, it is still possible to compare the LAS-stimulus and the retell versions to explore syntactic options used where a possible context is available. As an example we consider the relative clause.

Table 5.6 below shows the number of speakers using each of the 7 clause types at least once.

Table 5.6 Number of Speakers Using Each Clause Type.

Other cl	n + cl	(n) then + cl	rel cl	so (then) + cl	aft/whn + cl	if + cl
42	39	32	19	18	9	4

The RC (relative clause) structure is used by a little less than half the speakers, although it occurred three times in the source. Again, we must note that absence of the structure in the LAS does not necessarily mean lack of knowledge of the structure. However, an interesting pattern of use is observed by either AOA or Age. Observe Figure 5.7.

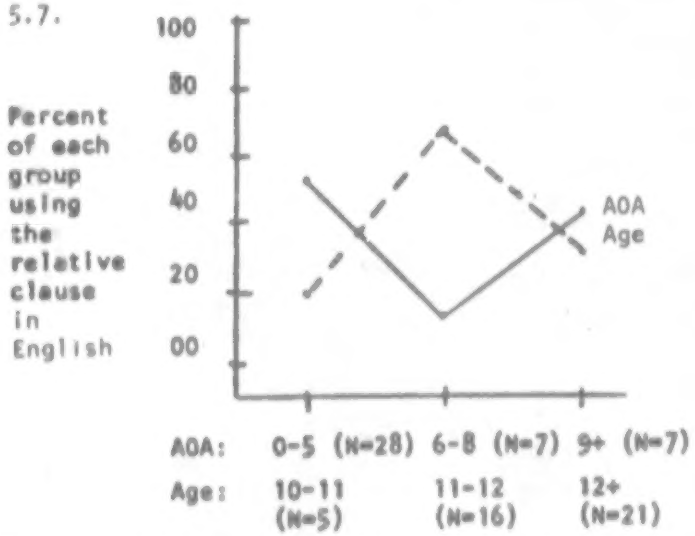

Figure 5.7 Percentage of speakers using the relative clause structure in the LAS-English story retelling by age of arrival (solid line) and actual age (broken line).

Figure 5.7 superimposes two displays, one by AOA and one by age. AOA shows a pattern of the depressed middle group (AOA 6-8). This pattern is reminiscent of a pattern reported for several studies, but most notably a Toronto study of immigrant students, by Cummins (1981). In the Toronto study a mixed batch of immigrants of ages 11-12 showed the following characteristics: Using the Peabody Vocabulary Test (PVT) of English vocabulary development, Cummins notes that those who arrived at ages 2-3 showed more vocabulary development than those who arrived later. However, those who arrived at ages 4-5 did not show more vocabulary development than those who arrived at ages 6-7 (in fact, they showed slightly less as a group). Thus, in that study, ages 4-5 is the depressed middle group with respect to the PVT since they do not show an advantage over peers who arrived at a later age. Cummins suggests that there is an interdependence between vocabulary development in L_1 and L_2 such that children in the more recent group (6-7) were able to transfer the skills underlying vocabulary acquisition in L_1 to L_2 and thus learn English vocabulary at a more rapid rate than the 4-5 AOA group, whom one would expect had a less developed vocabulary in L_1.

If a similar interdependence argument were adapted to explain the data of Figure 5.7, it would predict a similar pattern for the Spanish LAS responses. This pattern would have its critical point for the middle group. However, Figure 5.8 below shows a regular gradience for relative clause in Spanish by both age and AOA.

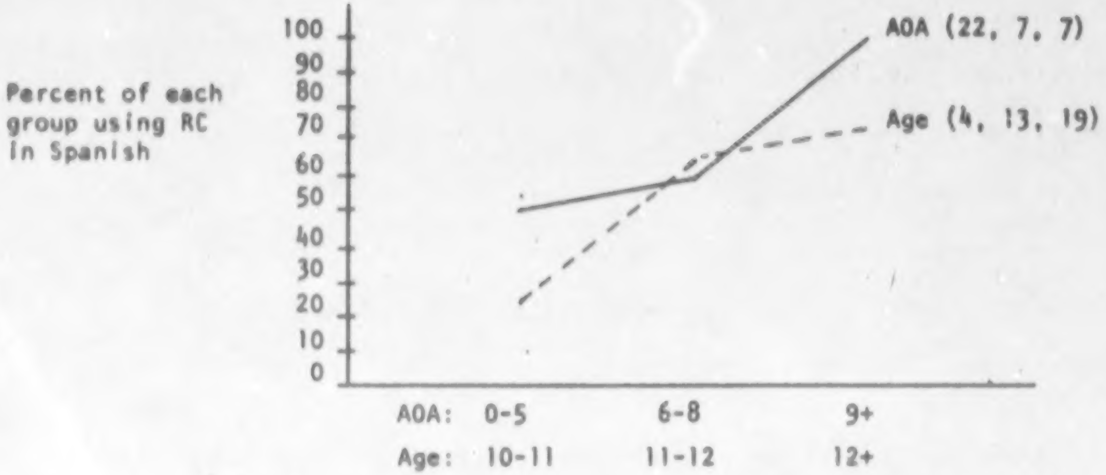

Figure 5.8 Percentage of speakers using RC in the LAS Spanish story retelling by AOA (solid) and actual age (broken).

A further breakdown of the data endangers the generalizability of some of the cells, but consistently indicates that a relative structure is more commonly found in the Spanish version than in the English (comparison of first and third columns of any line in Table 5.7 below).

Table 5.7 Comparison of RC Use in Spanish and English Story-Retelling by AOA and Age.

AOA	Spanish only	both	English only	neither	N
0-5	.27	.22	.22	.27	(22)
6-8	.43	.14	.00	.43	(7)
9+	.57	.43	.00	.00	(7)
Age					
10	.25	.00	.25	.50	(4)
11	.23	.38	.23	.15	(13)
12	.47	.21	.06	.26	(19)

While the (RC in) neither or both (languages) categories show the critical point pattern for both middle AOA and age, the Spanish only RC pattern is more commonly used than the English only RC pattern. The evidence shows that virtually all speakers have developed the RC construction in at least one language. Thus, the interdependence argument, which predicts lack of transfer due to lack of development in either language, is inadequate for this case.

The comparison with spontaneous speech below indicates that the non-use of relativization is not characteristic of the speakers' syntactic knowledge.

Table 5.8 Comparison of Use of RC in LAS-E and -S Story-Retelling and use of RC in English Spontaneous Speech.

	RC use in LAS			
	Sp. only	both	Eng. only	neither
Percent of speakers using English RC in DI	.62	.55	1.00	.78
(N)	(13)	(9)	(5)	(9)

Table 5.8 adopts the categories of RC production among speakers according to the LAS retelling, and compares them with RC production in the spontaneous speech of DI. Serious discrepancies exist for most categories.

In spontaneous speech, more than half the Spanish only speakers on LAS gave evidence of RC knowledge in English. For these speakers the determinant of LAS performance was not lack of knowledge of the English RC structure.

Only half of the speakers who exhibited RC knowledge in both languages in LAS showed evidence of this in spontaneous speech, thus illustrating that lack of occurrence of RC in a particular speech sample, spontaneous or not, is not automatically evidence of lack of knowledge. Indeed, for the present sample, those speakers who did not show the structure were those who talked the least altogether. In order to recognize the non-use of a syntactic device in speech, a possible context must be recognized. As mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.5, recognizing a possible context can be difficult because of the apparently great number of options, which is an important point with consequences for comparing test and spontaneous language on the discourse and gross syntactic level. Full discussion of this is resumed in the next section.

The Eng. only category shows good fit. Although the number of speakers is small, it is evident that speakers who use RC in English more likely than in Spanish (on LAS) were also likely to use it in spontaneous speech.

The common use of RC among speakers who showed no evidence for it on LAS establishes the point of this section. The LPi does not reflect actual syntactic ability in RC for many speakers. There is little left to an attempted interdependence explanation based directly on acquisition of this syntactic structure. For the most part, the neither group does not show lack of knowledge of the structure in English. The three AOA 6-8 in this group all showed RC in spontaneous English speech (CS, OS, AR). Therefore, there are no speakers left of AOA 6-8 who did not have RC in at least one language. If they did not transfer it to the other language, the explanation cannot be that it had failed to develop in either language.

Comparison of the RC in the LPI and the sessions representing spontaneous speech shows that particular syntactic features, e.g., the relative clause, may be affected by the test situation on the discourse level. As a result, the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain items of discourse syntax is not indicative of syntactic knowledge. To the extent that such syntactic features contribute to syntactic variety in any speech sample, inferences about spontaneous syntactic variety and about syntactic abilities, on the basis of LPI discourse data, are unreliable for many individual speakers, and not suitable for making fine or crucial distinctions in grammatical ability.

5.5.2 Possible Context in Syntactic Analysis

In testing, as in any type of analysis, conclusions about what speakers know and can do are more securely based on observable behavior than on non-observable behavior. *Failure* to do something implies the expectation that it could have been done in that context. In linguistic analysis this means that absence of observable behavior is only significant if a possible context can be recognized.

As mentioned above, recognition of possible context in syntax requires understanding of the larger discourse uses of syntax. While in morphology, possible context is found on the level of a single word, clause-level syntactic units have larger sections of discourse as contexts.

For example, in Chapter 4, section 4.5.5, it was shown that a special context in which RC may occur is to join an existential clause with a following clause whose subject has the same referent as the NP of the existential clause. Alternatives to the relativization were shown, e.g.:

(5.41)a.	there was a man that/who fell.	RC
b.	there was a man that he fell.	that-conjoined
c.	there was a man, he fell.	indep. clause chain
d.	there was a man C he fell.	other connective

(where C is a connective, usually n, but n then also observed).

There was evidence, in the gradient behavior by AOA, that type (5.41)b. was intermediate in development between (5.41)c. and (5.41)a. However, it was not evident that (5.41)c. ceased to be a possible alternative once (5.41)a. developed. In analyzing possible contexts for RC, the context represented in (5.41)c. or d.,

(5.42) there was NP; (C) S; VP

was considered a possible context for comparison of speakers.

The LAS-stimulus directly indicates possible contexts for the retelling in its three occurrences of the RC. To the extent that information contained in these RCs is either omitted or syntactically reorganized, actual use of RC in the retelling was affected. The stimuli RC are presented here.

(5.43) 1. There was a silly old monster who liked to drink pink lemonade.
2. He drank what looked like pink lemonade.
3. He didn't like what he drank.

In (5.43), 1. is an RC of the type discussed above. The other two, (5.43) 2. and 3., are headless what-RCs, where the head (e.g., something) and the RM (e.g., that) are combined into a single form what.[4]

In further analysis the information contained in the 3 RCs was studied in the retelling. A reflex of (5.43) 1. was recognized if the proposition the monster liked (to drink) (something) was expressed by a given speaker. For (5.43) 2., the reorganization was quite radical.

---

[4] The Spanish equivalent for the RC what is lo que on the LAS. It occurred commonly in spontaneous Spanish as well. In English RC what was also observed for some speakers, but not as commonly.

Usually the entire RC was replaced with its story referent, pink ink. The information in the RC was counted as mentioned as long as some expression was used to indicate the mistake in the event of drinking. a great many devices were used, e.g.:

(5.44) RC

a. he saw what he thought was pink lemonade EP11F
b. he drink m paint that look like uh lemonade SO12F

Participial Adjunct

c. he drank the pink ink thinking it was pink lemonade IG11F

Adverbial Phrase

d. he drank it by mistake EG12F

Coordination

e. he saw . . . pink lemonade n he thought it was pink lemonade RM11M

Independent Chain

f. it wasn't lemonade it was pink ink. LA12F

The information in (5.43) 3. was usually omitted altogether. Excluded from the count of mention is quotations of the monster to the effect that "this isn't pink lemonade" since that information is given in another clause in the stimulus.

Table 5.9 below shows the percentage of speakers mentioning each of the 3 RCs as information units in the English retelling.

Table 5.9 Percentage of Speakers Mentioning the Information Contained in the LAS Stimulus RCs.

RC	1	2	3
Percentage of Speakers mentioning information (N = 42)	.81	.95	.19

The table shows a high degree of preservation of the element of orientation in (5.43) 1., and of the motivation for the unfortunate event in (5.43) 2., but not of (5.43) 3.

The following table shows that the syntactic device of RC to organize the information units does not show the effect of their different content, but is equally unlikely for all.

Table 5.10 Percentage of Speakers Using RC for Information of Table 5.9 out of 51 Total Speakers Mentioning Information.

RC	1	2	3
Percentage of Speakers using RC out of numbers mentioning information unit	.29 (34)	.23 (40)	.25 (8)

The data demonstrate that the retelling task lacks sufficient control to relate test behavior to actual syntactic ability. It is not clear why the RC is disfavored in the stimulus instances. Ability is only partially responsible. Other syntactic options are available and used. Without control of options and motives for mention or omission, a crude count of syntactic structures does not indicate syntactic ability, or its relation to discourse ability.

5.5.3 Conclusions About Syntax

The structure of discourse and its effect on length of utterances (measured above in number of clauses per story-retelling) and syntactic variety (measured above in number of clause types) shows greater influence of the test situation than does morphology.

No principled pattern by AOA applies to syntax, although it does to morphology.

A direct comparison of length of discourse units in test situations and spontaneous situations is not possible for most speakers. Lack of agreement is caused by various factors. For most speakers, the DUs elicited by LPAIs are of a different nature than those produced spontaneously. Even spontaneous DUs of the same type--e.g., narratives--vary in length according to various factors. The bases for what information a particular speaker expresses or omits in each situation is undoubtedly different. A major difference derives from the variation in the speaker's control of the information relative to co-participants: In spontaneous situations it is high for the speaker and low for the participants, or some of them. In test situations, the difference between speaker and addresee knowledge is either negligible, or the addresee has greater knowledge than the speaker. Therefore, the basis on which the information is selected is different.

This difference in situation also affects syntactic variety, since clause structure is determined by the relation of information units to each other. It was seen that particular syntactic structures--e.g., the relative clause--might be converted into a main clause in retelling, and not be a sign that the speaker had not acquired the RC structure. In general, LPAIs do not control possible contexts for syntactic features involving clause-level syntax. While a speaker's use of a structure in a test situation may be an indication of level of development in spontaneous speech, or at least of syntactic knowledge, non-use of a structure in the test situation is not indicative of syntactic ability, unless context makes it necessary for that structure to be used, according to some rational criterion. This is not the case for any current tests which use any measure of length or variety, which is not surprising since the theoretical bases for analysis of syntax in discourse is a recent development, and the recognition of possible context for a syntactic structure is much less well developed than its analog in morphology. This acts to the detriment of accurate relative ordering of speakers on a scale of syntactic development, when they are rated for what they don't say, in addition to what they say.

5.6 Implications for Language Proficiency Testing

The findings of the present study help explain why different LPAIs, based on different grammatical criteria, are non-comparable. Regardless of the scoring procedures used, to the extent that LPAIs differ in the weight they assign to syntactic and morphological phenomena, the differential effects of the test situation will confound ability and interactional constraints on display of ability for syntax much more than for morphology. Morphology showed weaknesses of LPAIs in sampling size of specific morphological features for individual speakers, but not for situational effects. On the other hand, traditionally used morphological data-points show a low ceiling, which is of little use for establishing equal accessibility to education for ages greater than seven, if the speaker has achieved the seven-year old level. It is possible that knowledge of the past modal structure may have a higher ceiling, as indicated by the findings reported above.

Potentially, discourse level syntax is a more powerful indicator of level of development relevant to school achievement for later grades. The storage of information in syntactic form is directly relevant to *composition* (organization of written language in writing), and the *retrieval* of information stored in syntactic form is directly relevant to *reading comprehension*. The obscuring of the distinction between the *use* of syntactic forms in discourse contexts and the ability to produce the syntactic forms, typical of sentence-level syntactic studies, has resulted in the widely believed assertion that syntactic development is equivalent to morphological development, and has the same early ceiling. The following quotes are representative of the emphasis put on the *early* development of syntactic ability, with qualifications reduced to subordinate status (as indicated by my underlining).

> (5.45)a. It is now well established that by the age of about 5 years, the great majority of children have achieved control of the basic grammar and phonology of their language (Wells, in press), *though it has been argued that there are residual areas which are not mastered until somewhat late* (cf. Chomsky, 1969).
> (French & Maclure, 1981, p. 207)
>
> b. First is the acquisition of what Bruner (1975) has termed the "species minimum" involving the phonological, syntactic and semantic skills which most native speakers have largely acquired by age six. For example, there is little difference between the phonological competence of a six and 14 year old. Similarly, mastery of basic syntax approaches maturity by age six, *although the development of more sophisticated rules and flexibility in grammatical control will continue into early adolescence* (Chomsky, 1972).
> (Cummins, 1981, p. 8)
>
> c. It is generally held that by approximately age 5 children will have acquired the sound system of their native language, most *(though not all)* of the syntactic features, and many of the rules of language use for that language.
> (NIE Report . . . Title VI, 1981, p. 30)

It is the syntactic features referred to in the underlined subordinate clauses that offer the possibility of more appropriate syntactic criteria for older speakers. As seen in Chapter 4, various types of clause structures are not commonly used at the late preadolescent age; some of these features show AOA-grading as well, e.g., certain types of relativization (the Latin rule used in mature standard English, including the possessive whose), or any use of which and certain subordinate structures (e.g., the (al)though clause). As noted in Chapter 4, section 4.5.7, even some features which are vernacular, but not standard, are not observed in the speech of the preadolescents, e.g., use of which to introduce a nonrestrictive clause with predicate relativization, e.g.:

(5.46) n then we had to do our own work which in a way it helps yk cause you learn .
(MV41f, ELA)

In sum, it is not at all likely that five-year-olds and adolescents/adults organize information syntactically in the same way, or have only minor differences in syntactic options (minor in academic importance?), although it is commonly observed that some syntactic structures are shared by five-year-olds and adults.

A final point needs to be made concerning the consequences that the finding of non-comparability has had on proposed assessment procedures. This has to do with the nature of measurements used in scoring.

5.6.1 Multicriteriality Testing and Measurement

In the wake of the finding of non-comparability of different LPAIs emphasizing different combinations of core linguistic features (e.g., Ulibarri et al., 1980), and with the greatly expanded awarness of interactional influences on linguistic performance, primarily due to the ethnography of communication approach with its construct of communicative competence, leading to the comparison of linguistic behavior in test situations and spontaneous speech behavior (reflected in the test notion of concurrent validity), and in the absence of a principled basis for choosing among different measures, there has been a trend toward proposing multicriterial assessment models as a system of checks and balances on over-reliance on a single measure. The NIE Title VI proposal of 1981 reflects this trend. To quote:

> (5.47)a. . . . language proficiency, being a complex of behaviors and competencies may not be 'assessable' with a single instrument. Furthermore, technical data presented about the various instruments suggests many problems . . . including the fact that different procedures have a tendency to yield different information. (BW: which is problematic for comparability).
>
> (NIE . . . Title VI, 1981, p. 78)
>
> b. A multiple criteria assessment model offers the advantage of a broader range of coverage of skills, less stress on any one indicator as THE indicator, the opportunity for the child to demonstrate proficiency in the least threatening mode, and a kind of built-in validity check.
>
> (op. cit, p. 78)

As the authors suggest, given the present state of the art in language proficiency testing, this is the safest proposal in the interests of an accurate assessment of the linguistic abilities of speakers for any given language. Most test theorists agree (cf. articles in Firth, 1980, esp. discussion of Operation Yard-Stick).

However, there are further proposals which appear to emanate from a practically motivated truncation of this research process, which, in my opinion, entail a great deal of risk to accurate assessment of language, if not informed by community norms and developmental features of spontaneous speech. These risks have to do with the fundamental standards for measurement rather than with the choice of any particular linguistic criteria as objects of interest (linguistic criteria being, in principle, open-ended and subject to continual research).

For example, the NIE Title VI report goes on to tentatively suggest the development of an FSI-like procedure. Fundamental to this procedure is an impressionistic rating scale with minimal analytic criteria (numerical scales for general categories of behaviors, e.g., syntax, phonology, etc.). Essentially this fits into a trend toward holistic evaluation of linguistic behavior (cf. Farhady, 1979). Undoubtedly, the motivation for holistic evaluation, as opposed to discrete-point evaluation (where parameters are more precisely defined), is dictated by practical considerations, primarily limitations on the training of the (bilingual) teacher (as tester) in applying test criteria beyond a certain degree of analysis. The problem is: The cruder the analysis the more problematic the interpretation of the results, and thus information for prescribing treatment.

On the experimental level, some findings of convergence between discrete point and immpressionistic measures have encouraged extended use of holistic evaluation, with its potential savings in teacher-tester training costs. Some of these are reported in Ulibarri *et al.*, (1980, 1981). One finding suggesting convergence between discrete point and impressionistic measures is the raw score rank-ordering between BSM, a discrete-point test, and LAS, a mixture of discrete-point and impressionistic measures, with the impressionistic measure contributing half of the total score of the test.

> (5.48) . . . when the raw score distributions of the tests are compared, the relationship between the tests changes with a definite and consistent pattern of agreement (i.e., fewer cross-overs in rank ordering of subjects along raw test scores) between the LAS and BSM in all three grades (BW, i.e., first, third and fifth grades). . . . the main difference between the LAS and BSM is due to differences in the way cut-off points for NES/LES/FES categories are defined by the tests' publishers. If new procedures were defined for determining NES/LES/FES classifications, it is likely that the LAS and BSM would show more agreement.
>
> (Ulibarri *et al*., 1981, p. 65)

Ulibarri *et al*. conclude:

> (5.49) Given the extreme difference in content between the LAS and BSM, this result is encouraging and suggests that the state of the art in oral language proficiency assessment is not as poor as some may think.
>
> (*op*. *cit*., p. 65)

However, closer scrutiny suggests that the convergence in the raw scores of these two LPAIs is primarily due to convergence of different standards of measurement of the *same* specific core linguistic features, those of *morphology*. At first glance this is not clear due to the inherent holistic vagueness of the LAS criteria for *production* (story-retelling). Of interest are the middle points on the 5-point scale of the LAS, where I have underlined the instructions which substitute impressionistic estimates for actual quantification (characteristic of BSM scoring).

> (5.50) *Level 3*. . . . the most salient characteristic of Level 3 is that a *more* or *less* complete view of the story is produced, although the sentences, while more coherent than in Level 2 (BW: lower proficiency) are still awkward and *syntactic errors tend to repeat themselves* . . .
>
> *Level 4*. . . . the student produces coherent sentences with native-like fluency with only an *occasional error* in either *syntax* or vocabulary.
>
> (LAS I Manual, p. 9)

That the specific criterion of morphology is used, in practice, in this seemingly holistic rating of production in story-retelling would explain convergence with the BSM raw scores (recall that syntax refers to the word-level, i.e., morphology, in BSM for the most part). This is confirmed by Rodriguez-Brown & Elias-Olivares' (1981) study of six bilingual children in Chicago (ages 8-10, third grade). They report that:

> (5.51) the story retelling subtest (BW of the LAS) . . . proved to be as good a predictor of English proficiency as the total score for all children.
>
> (R-B & E-O, 1981, p. 20)

On the other hand, they show diversity in the other LAS subtests (which happen to be discrete-point) for the lower proficient children (*op. cit.* Table A, p. 19). Therefore, the convergence found by Ulibarri *et al.* is most likely due to the heavy weight put on the LAS story-retelling; not to convergence of *different* content, but rather to the implicit use of the *same* morphological criteria. Whether this is due to some prior training of the test scorers in sensitivity to morphological differences from standard English, or some more basic reaction to the same criteria widespread among English-speaking (at least middle class) populations, is not clear.

The point here is that the discrete-point measure comes closer to *explaining* the convergence than does the impressionistic measure, and therefore allows a scientific basis for evaluating the *fairness* of the measure, and opens the possibility of specific treatments.

Ultimately, holistic, impressionistic measures, while of experimental and practical value, are weak in explanatory power, in *accountability* for the *causes* of the impressions that they reflect.

This applies no less to the FSI than to any other impressionistic measure. While as a situational format the FSI provides a model in the direction of encouraging speech approaching the spontaneous speech of less topic-controlled situations, its demonstration of inter-rater reliability is not in itself valuable to placement or treatment. The FSI has no advantage over any other form of testing when it comes to distinguishing nonstandard vernacular forms of English from underdeveloped command of any form of English. However, if the measure is impressionistic, rather than discrete, it will be more difficult to account for the impression or evaluate its worth for educational treatment. This will make it more difficult to locate judments based on prejudices against nonstandard forms of speech. For example, no current proficiency measure will distinguish the vernacular use of the past for participle commonly used by AOA 0 late preadolescent monolingual and bilingual English speakers, as in,

(5.52) he hasn't came yet

from underdeveloped norms, such as lack of irregular past and/or 3S agreement characteristic of only later AOA bilinguals, and not even of seven-year old monolinguals (of relevant communities), as in,

(5.53) last night my mother tell me if I feel sick.

It has been the purpose of the present report to go beyond a concern for ranking of speakers for placement purposes, toward a concrete demonstration of the relation of interactional, discourse and core linguistic abilities to each other. This is consistent with the point of view that the goal of education is to build on the basis of what speakers do know, and how they behave, to introduce what they don't know and need to learn in the educational process. Placement is only a first step, and placement without diagnostic value is of extremely limited utility toward providing teachers with information about their students' language abilities in any language. It is hypothesized on the basis of its general soundness, and the lack of contradictory evidence, that the strategy of treatment depends on the nature of the problem, and the nature of the problem is clearly different for examples such as (5.52) and (5.53) above, as in many other cases discussed in the body of this report.

5.7 Conclusions

This final section of the report summarizes the findings and conclusions of the topic/situation project. The first subsection summarizes the linguistic findings as they relate directly to the LPAIs. The second subsection summarizes the findings as they relate more generally to this age and grade group.

5.7.1 Summary of LPAI-Related Findings

1. Different linguistic systems (components of language, e.g., syntax, morphology, and subsystems within components, e.g., tense, modes, negation, agreement) evolve at different rates, but there is some predictability of ordering across some separate systems according to the nature of the system (e.g., grammatically vs. lexically determined rules, and rules which have analogs in the L1 (Spanish) system vs. rules that don't).

2. Morphology as a whole shows little effect of situation, unless it involves a socially sensitive feature recognized by the speaker (e.g., ain't for copula + not, as in isn't, 's not). Small amounts of data elicited by LPAIs, if consisting of connected discourse (as in a story-retelling), rather than isolated sentences, show similar patterns to spontaneous speech, as long as the details of the morpheme studied are not at issue.

For the topic/situation sample, development of selected English morphemes showed a clear tendency toward monolingual norms either of the community or the school (standard English), increasing steadily with length of residence (LOR).

3. LOR also showed a critical period--between 4-6 years--in which speakers exhibited clear preference for Spanish (below the LOR) or English (above the LOR) in peer interaction, and more especially in extended discourse (multi-sentence). This was all the more striking since it sometimes conflicted with the dominance registered by the LPAI measures used to classify the speakers.

4. Syntax showed quite different patterning from morphology; different patterns were seen to depend on the measure used.

The patterns of use of syntax in spontaneous speech cannot be sampled by conventional LPAIs. The patterns of use elicited by LPAIs are not easily interpretable outside of consideration of the influence of the test situation itself, both in terms of the speaker's motivation to talk and his/her perception (or interpretation) of what is required (or wanted).

The knowledge, and especially use, of particular syntactic structures are difficult to sample in LPAIs because they are, for the most part, relatively infrequent compared to the more common morphological structures.

We found that many syntactic structures in spontaneous speech are still in the process of developing, at least if they are to reach the standard norm (and in some cases, the adult community norms) independently of LOR, even among speakers for whom English is virtually L_1. Thus, it would be grossly inaccurate to claim that linguistic competence, even in the strictest sense of control of syntactic structures, is virtually developed to adult capacity for L_1 speakers before the age of 6, or thereabouts. Skills are still developing within the narrow age range of the topic/situation study, and our knowledge of adult norms, insufficient as it is, leads us to infer that more development will take place.

At the same time, organizational strategies on the multi-sentence level often show transfer across languages. In some cases, the direction of transfer is clear; in other cases it is not, and may appear to be simply language-independent.

5. A low level of morphological development, which (as stated above) patterns with a low LOR, also patterns with the disinclination to use extended speech in English spontaneously. Therefore, there is little display of syntactic patterns in discourse. Such speakers often attempt--and even succeed--in using complex structures (making allowances for some inexactness)--e.g., subject-auxiliary reversal in a spontaneous question--but do not maintain English over more than three clauses (containing finite verbs), whether for lexical, morphological, syntactic or social reasons.

   The implications for LPAIs is that tests of morphology are relatively easy to construct and use for evaluation of morphological development. However, they will not be representative of functional speech behavior unless they allow for extended discourse. More precise measures than are currently used can be developed for a finer reading of development. However, the relation of morphological to syntactic and discourse development is not well established and varies both within (according to topic/situation) and across individuals. Therefore, syntactic measures which divorce speech from a functional context are only serviceable for extremely crude distinctions, e.g., between a speaker of very low development and others. For others, the variables of situation and motivation confound the measure.

5.7.2 Summary of General Findings

1. Both social and linguistic factors determine language preference. Some speakers (like SO or CS) have abilities in one language beyond their preferences, whereas other speakers (like JB) have preferences beyond the abilities normally exhibited by speakers with those preferences. These affect their disposition to use one or another language in the classroom, or in other contexts.

2. Generally, at age 10-12, English preference is established at LOR 5-6 years. Arrivals at AOAs which do not allow this LOR may show a faster rate of acquisition of English than speakers arriving at younger ages (not actually shown but suggested by SO's test performance compared with, say, RR, cf. Figure 5.3), but may be reticent about using English in front of peers. At this age, there are fewer speakers at early stages of English language development. This is a social fact which affects some speakers' preferences and actual behavior.

3. Situation has a measurable effect on discourse and core linguistic performance. The test emphases perceived by many speakers distort their performance away from the direction of spontaneous speech (as demonstrated in Chapter 3, 3.2 and in this Chapter section 5.5.1 (A)), giving the impression that they perceive that the intent of the test is to show what they don't know at the expense of what they do know (with the possibility of defensive behavior of quashing what they do know in order to avoid the academic "sin" of being wrong).

4. There are further linguistic criteria which can be developed for late preadolescent age groups for both school and vernacular speech to test their language abilities, in determining accessibility to an English-only academic program, with those of monolingual or early AOA bilinguals. This has been shown in examples from past modals, certain aspects of relativization and subordination devices of other kinds. This cuts into what Cummins (various references) has distinguished from basic, non-linguistic context-loaded, early acquired (by monolinguals) language proficiency (or abilities). However, there is little evidence that these further language abilities (exemplified concretely above) are a product of exposure to school (in the same way that Krashen, e.g., 1981, has argued that the more basic morphological orders of acquisition are not significantly affected by instruction at any age, but especially below the age of 12), rather than features of natural development, although with possible cognitive and academic consequences. On the basis of these findings as they apply to the use of syntax for the organization of information in larger multi-clause discourse units, I have suggested that they are indeed relevant to production and comprehension of more complex written texts, independent of the effect of reduced non-linguistic context in the written language.

5. To the extent that the source of the particular problem prescribes the mode of treatment, and that teachers need diagnostic and qualitative information to bridge from what students know to where they want to take them, it is essential to distinguish vernacular from underdeveloped linguistic forms, at any level of analysis. For longstanding bilingual communities such as East Los Angeles (or various barrios in New York City and elsewhere) vernacular and underdeveloped forms cannot be distinguished by using monolingual community middle class norms, or standard norms, as criterial, but must be distinguished through the establishment of monolingual and/or early AOA bilingual norms in the community serviced. (Thus, for example, it has been shown that use of tell for standard ask or subject-auxiliary inversion in embedded wh-questions does not imply individual transference from Spanish as opposed to community norms, whether age-graded or more generally developed, cf. Chapter 4, 4.4ff).

6. There is no evidence from morphology and syntax that by ages 10-12 bilingualism or exposure to standard language (if confined to school) adversely affects the development of either vernacular language. With regard to bilingualism it has been shown that in many cases what can be transferred from one language to the other indeed does transfer (e.g., in morphology, the plural suffix already characteristic of all speakers; the past tense as a category with early acquisition of the core irregular pasts, cf. Chapter 4, 4.3.2; in syntax, the "standard"--but also community, i.e., vernacular-- form of the embedded yes/no question without an apparent subject/auxiliary inversion stage, among other features, cf. Chapter 4, 4.4). With regard to exposure to the standard, it has been shown for English that this does not affect vernacular use of the past for the participle of perfect forms nor non-use of Latinate relative clause structures. From these findings it is concluded that bilingualism is not detrimental to the development of oral language skills, that transference of later developed linguistic skills is likely, and that emphasis on oral production of standard forms, at the expense of written production and comprehension of the standard forms, is misplaced toward the goal of literacy for bilinguals of ages 10+.

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APPENDIX A

Experimental interview sequence for the top/sit study.

1. (Set up recording equipment. Turn on.)

BEGIN.

(Topic: Language choice) What language should we start in, Spanish or English, or both?

INTRODUCE.
(Speaker by name and age. First distribution of talk.) Tell me each your names and ages. (Explain to them: "so later when I play the tape back I can tell whose voice is whose.")

DEFINE SITUATION. (Give your name. Have them use your first name. Use their first names.)

BEGIN TOPICS. (Drop and/or modify as you see fit.)
(places). Tell me all the places you've lived (distribute)
    Which was the best? Why?
    (Maybe tie in animals, pets, if rural.)

DESCRIPTION DU TRY.
    Tell me about the house. How many rooms? Where?

SWITCH TRY. (Switch language.) Another one.

TOPIC. (home). How many in your family? Who?
    What's it like to be the oldest/youngest/ etc.?

PURSUE TOPIC (if seems productive) (Try for a narrative.) Siblings, etc.

SWITCH TRY. (Try for another DU in the other language).
    (*The switch tries usually fail as reported in the body of this report.)

TRANSITION. Tell me about the games you played outside of school when you were younger, maybe still play? How do you play? Who taught you? How do you choose sides?

TOPIC. (friends). Who are your best friends now? What do you do? (bikes, boards, cars, etc.) How did you meet? Did you always have the same best friends? What happened?

TOPIC. (nationalities) Are all your best friends the same nationality? What are the different nationalities where you live? (Get words for nationalities.) Where do the closest whites/blacks/who else- live?

TOPIC. (prejudice) Do you think there's a lot of prejudice around here?

Why? (Go for story.)

TOPIC. (neighborhoods) Which is the best/worst neighborhood around here? Why? (agreement? distribute.)
Have you ever felt you were in danger? scared? accidents?
Are there gangs around here? Do they have names? How do they dress? What do they do? (go for story).

TOPIC. (customs) What kind of clothes do you like? etc. What do other people wear?

TOPIC. (verbal skills) Do you know any jokes? Do kids cap on each other? What do they say? Do they do it in Spanish/English too?

TOPIC. (school) Have you been to a lotta schools? Which was the best? Why? Best teacher? Why? Worst teacher? Why? How do you like the bilingual classes (if appropriate)? Why?

TOPIC. (anticipation) What do you think about going to junior high school? Know anyone there yet? Who? What do they say? What about getting older? Do you think you've changed much? What did you useta do that you don't do anymore?

TOPIC. (the future/money) Have you thought about what you want to do as a job/career (never put it as "whata you wanna do when you grow up". Have you ever made any MONEY? How? What did you do with it?

TOPIC. (beliefs and magic) When you were little were you afraid of monsters or anything?
What about now? Do you believe things like that exist? What about people from outer space? Flying saucers? ESP? Magic? etc. Know any scary or creepy places? Haunted house?

TOPIC. (vicarious experience). Watch TV? Seen any good movies? Can things like that really happen? Why do you say that? Did you ever see anything like that in real life? Who did?

TOPIC. (music). Do you listen to music? Radio? Records? What kind? What else? What music don't you like? Do you dance? Are you going to learn how? Can you describe one?

TOPIC. (social life). Parties? Which was the last one? Which one was best? Have you ever been in love? When? What happened? How many boy/girl-friends have you had? How did you become friends?

TOPIC. (food). What do you like to eat? Can you cook? How do you/does she (usually mother) make it? Did you ever try to make something and it didn't turn out right? (story.)

PEER CONFERENCE.

I want you all to take this book and make up a story together. I'm gonna leave so you can be alone, but I'm leaving the taperecorder on. When I come back I want each of you to tell me a story you make up about it in both English and Spanish. If you have trouble, we'll help each other, so don't worry. I'll be back in about 10 minutes. (*seems like the stories only take 5 minutes for both languages. Leave time for spontaneous talk.)

RETURN.

The story retellings (make short).

TOPIC. (language). Do you ever talk Spanish/English? When? Why?
Which one do you feel you know better? Why?
Who do you talk mostly Spanish/English to?
What happens if you use the other one?

END. OK. Thanks for talking with me. I have to talk to some more people now, and see what they think too.

APPENDIX B

Format for the Language Proficiency Interview.

1. Use order Spanish a-b, and then English a-b, if possible.

2 Speaker puts on clip-on microphone. Start recording equipment. Begin the interview.

como te llamas?

y cuantos anos tienes?

lo que vamos hacer no tiene que ver con la escuela.

3. Begin test simulation.

Present pictures 5-7 from the BSM picture booklet.

INSERT BSM pictures 5-7.

a. Spanish (from BSM-1 child response booklet, p6).

donde esta el rey en este dibujo? (pointing to picture 5)
donde esta el perro en este dibujo? (pointing to picture 6)
y donde esta el rey en este dibujo? (pointing to picture 7)

20. (picture 5) porque tiene el una corona?

21. (p. 5) que quiere el perro que haga el rey?

22. de quien es la comida que el perro se quiere comer?

23. que paso con la comida del rey? (see picture 7).

24. que hubiera pasado si el perro no se hubiera comido la comida?

25. porque se cayo la manzana?

b. eso es todo con este. Ahora vamos hacer otra cosa. Vas a oir un cuento y luego me lo vas a contar. (plays LAS-1 Spanish story on a separate cassette recorder).

LAS-1 Story. (cf. LAS Manual, p7)

La historia de una giganta. Habia una vez una giganta morada y graciosa, a quien le gustaba comer helado de fresas. Asi que un dia de verano se fue a comer lo que parecia helado de fresas. No le gusto lo que comio y dijo -- esto no es helado de fresas; es pintura roja. Al dia siguiente la giganta morada y graciosa se sentia muy enferma.

Cuando sus amigos vinieron a visitarla le preguntaron: como te sientes? --No muy bien, contesto. Sentimos mucho que la pintura roja te haya puesto enferma, asi que te trajimos unos regalitos. El gigante grande le dio un poco de pan fresco; el gigante mediano le dio unas palmeras rosadas; y la giganta pequena le dio una trompeta de plata. --Gracias, dijo la giganta. Creo que ahora me siento un poco mejor. Y nunca mas voy a comer pintura.

(interviewer to child) Ahora me puedes contar el cuento?

Transition to English versions of language proficiency test segments.

OK. Now we're gonna do the same thing in English.

4 English version.

a. BSM-1. (same pictures as for Spanish version. From BSM English Child response booklet, p6).

Where is the king in this picture? (p.5)
Where's the dog in this picture? (p.6)
And where's the king in this picture? (p.7)

21. Why is the dog looking at the king? (p.5)

22. What happened to the king's food? (p.7)

23. What would have happened if the dog hadn't eaten the food?

24. What happened to that apple? (p.7)

25. Why did it fall down?

b. LAS-1. Same protocol as for Spanish 3.b. above. Plays the English version of the story for production in LAS-1 (LAS Manual,p6).

The silly old monster. Once upon a time there was a silly old monster who liked to drink pink lemonade. So one summer day he went and drank what looked like pink lemonade. He didn't like what he drank and said, "This is not pink lemonade, this is pink ink." The next day the silly old monster felt very sick. When all of his friends came to visit him they asked him: "how are you?" "Not very well", he answered. "We're sorry the pink ink made you sick," they said, "so we brought you some presents." The big monster gave him some fresh fruit; the middle sized monster gave him some green flowers, and the little monster gave him a gold flute. The silly old monster said, "Thank you. I think I feel a little better now. And I'm never going to drink pink ink again."

ABBREVIATIONS

(see below for speaker identification code.)

AOA	age of arrival.
BINL	Basic Inventory of Natural Language (an LPAI).
BSM	Bilingual Syntax Measure (an LPAI).
C norm	community norm.
D norm	developmental norm.
DI	discourse interview.
DU	discourse unit.
HLS	Home Language Survey.
LA	language abilities.
LAS	Language Assessment Scales (an LPAI).
LB	language behavior.
LOR	length of residence.
LP	language proficiency.
LPA	language proficiency assessment.
LPAI	language proficiency assessment instrument.
LPI	language proficiency interview.
MN	multiple negation.
O-H	object-head: a relative clause whose head is the object of the main verb.
O-RC	object-relative clause: a relative clause whose head refers to the object of the verb of the relative clause.
PC	peer conference.
RC	relative clause.

RIM	racially isolated minority (school).
RM	relative marker.
SC	subject copy.
S-H	subject-head: a relative clause whose head is the subject of the main verb.
S-RC	subject-relative clause: a relative clause whose head refers to the subject of the verb of the relative clause.
T norm	transfer norm.

Speaker identification. Citations of individual speakers are followed by a speaker identification code which allows convenient access to important demographic features of the speaker. An example of the code is:

AL12F10724SE

There are 12 positions in the code.

Positions

1-2	assign an arbitrary sequence of letters representing a unique identification of each speaker, e.g. AL.
3-4	give the speaker's age, e.g. 12.
5	identifies the speaker's sex: M or F.
6	indicates the site of the interviews: either 1 or 2.
7-8	indicate the speaker's age of arrival, e.g. 07 (at age seven).
9	indicates the speaker's attributed ENGLISH language proficiency, according to the school records. This is a number if the LAS was used, and a letter if the BINL was used. E.g. in the example, the number is 2, indicating that the English score was recorded by the LAS as a 2 (low limited English language proficiency).
10	indicates the speaker's attributed SPANISH language proficiency, according to the school records, e.g. in the example the speaker was recorded as a LAS 4 (fluent language proficiency).
11-12	indicates the language(s) recorded on the speaker's home language survey. There are three possibilities: EE= English only, SS= Spanish only, SE= Spanish and English both reported in home.

* Whenever there is missing information, an X is entered in the appropriate position. For the most part, this applies only to positions 9-12, especially for 10 (a speaker who was not recorded for Spanish language proficiency according to any assessment instrument).